East façade of State Historical Library, in Winter

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

AT ITS

FIFTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING

Held October 15, 1908

MADISON
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1909

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Officers, 1908-09

President

William Ward Wight, M. A.	Milwaukee

Vice Presidents

Hon. Emil Baensch	Manitowoc
Hon. Lucius C. Colman, B. A.	La Crosse
Hon. Burr W. Jones, M. A.	Madison
Hon. John Luchsinger	Monroe
Hon. Benjamin F. McMillan	McMillan
Hon. John B. Winslow, LL. D.	Madison

Secretary and Superintendent

Reuben G. Thwaites, LL. D.	Madison

Treasurer

Hon. Lucien S. Hanks	Madison

Librarian and Assistant Superintendent

Isaac S. Bradley, B. S.	Madison

Curators, Ex-Officio

Hon. James O. Davidson	Governor
Hon. James A. Frear	Secretary of State
Hon. Andrew H. Dahl	State Treasurer

Curators, Elective

Term expires at annual meeting in 1909

Thomas E. Brittingham, Esq.	Rev. Patrick B. Knox
Henry C. Campbell, Esq.	Maj. Frank W. Oakley
William K. Coffin, M. S.	Arthur L. Sanborn, LL. B.
Hon. Lucien S. Hanks	Hon. Halle Steensland
Nils P. Haugen, LL. B.	E. Ray Stevens, LL. B.
Col. Hiram Hayes	William W. Wight, M. A.

Officers of the Society, 1908-09

Term expires at annual meeting in 1910

Robert M. Bashford, M. A.
Jairus H. Carpenter, LL. D.
Lucius C. Colman, B. A.
Henry E. Legler, Esq.
Hon. Benjamin F. McMillan
Dana C. Munro, M. A.
William A. P. Morris, B. A.
Rev. J. M. Naughtin
Arthur C. Neville, Esq.
Robert G. Siebecker, LL. B.
Frederick J. Turner, Ph. D.
Charles R. Van Hise, LL. D.

Term expires at annual meeting in 1911

Rasmus B. Anderson, LL. D.
Hon. Emil Baensch
Charles N. Brown, LL. B.
Hon. George B. Burrows
Frederic K. Conover, LL. B.
Alfred A. Jackson, M. A.
Burr W. Jones, M. A.
Hon. John Luchsinger
Most Rev. S. G. Messmer
J. Howard Palmer, Esq.
John B. Parkinson, M. A.
Hon. N. B. Van Slyke

Executive Committee

The thirty-six curators, the secretary, the librarian, the governor, the secretary of state, and the state treasurer, constitute the executive committee.

Standing committees (of executive committee)

Library—Turner (chairman), Munro, Legler, Stevens, and the Secretary (ex-officio).

Art Gallery and Museum—Conover (chairman), Van Hise, Knox, Naughtin, and the Secretary (ex-officio).

Printing and Publication—Legler (chairman), Turner, Munro, Parkinson, and the Secretary (ex-officio).

Finance—Morris (chairman), Palmer, Steensland, Burrows, and Brown.

Advisory Committee (ex-officio)—Turner, Conover, Legler, and Morris.

Special committees (of the society)

Auditing—E. B. Steensland (chairman), A. B. Morris, and A. E. Proudfit.

Relations with State University—Thwaites (chairman), Oakley, Haugen, Siebecker, and Brittingham.

Legislative—Stevens (chairman), Jones, Legler, Oakley, and Thwaites.

Library Service

Secretary and Superintendent

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL. D.

Librarian and Assistant Superintendent

ISAAC SAMUEL BRADLEY, B. S.

Assistant Librarian

ANNIE AMELIA NUNNS, B. A.
(Superintendent's Secretary)

Library Assistants

(In order of seniority of service)

MARY STUART FOSTER, B. L.	— *Reading Room and Stack*
IVA ALICE WELSH, B. L.	— *Catalogue Department*
EVE PARKINSON, B. A.	— *Periodical Department*
LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG, Ph. D.	— *Editorial Assistant*
ANNA JACOBSEN, B. L.	— *Catalogue Department*
EDNA COUPER ADAMS, B. L.	— *Reading Room and Stack*
DAISY GIRDHAM BEECROFT	— *Superintendent's Clerk*
ASA CURRIER TILTON, Ph. D.	— *Public Documents, Maps, and Mss. Departments*
CLARA ALIDA RICHARDS, B. A.	— *Reading Room and Stack*
KATE LEWIS	— *Catalogue Department*
HARRIET LUELLA ALLEN	— *General Assistant*
CHARLES EDWARD BROWN	— *Museum Department*
LILLIAN JANE BEECROFT, B. L.	— *Periodical Department*
ELLEN ISABEL TRUE	— *Maps and Mss. Department*

Student Assistants

ISABEL HEAN	— *Catalogue Department*
*MARION J. ATWOOD	— *Reading Room and Stack*
*ARTHUR A. SHILLANDER	— *Newspaper Department*

*On part time

Library Service

Care Takers

Magnus Nelson	—*Head Jan. and Gen. Mechanic*
Irving Robson	—*Janitor and General Mechanic*
Ceylon C. Lincoln	—*Janitor and General Mechanic*
Bennie Butts	—*Office Messenger*
Tillie Gunkel	—*Housekeeper*
Elizabeth Alsheimer, Bridget Dale, Anna Mausbach, Gertrude Nelson.	—*Housemaids*
*Barbara Brisbois, Nelia Warnecke, Walter Kindschi, Lucien McCulloch	—*Cloak Room Attendants*
Leo Link	—*Elevator Attendant*
†Charles Kehoe	—*Night Watch*

Library Open—Daily, except Saturdays, Sundays, holidays, University vacations, and summer months: 7:45 A. M. to 10 P. M.
Saturdays: 7:45 A. M. to 9 P. M.
Holidays, University vacations, and summer months, as per special announcement.

Museum Open—Daily except Sundays and holidays: 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
Sundays, holidays, and evenings, as per special announcement.

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* During session of the University.
† During winter months.

Fifty-Sixth Annual Meeting[1]

The business session of the fifty-sixth annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was held in the lecture room of the State Historical Library Building at Madison, upon Thursday afternoon, October 15, 1908, commencing at four o'clock; an open session was held the same evening in the Society's Museum, commencing at half past seven. In the afternoon the Executive Committee also held its annual meeting.

Business Session

President Wight took the chair at four o'clock in the afternoon.

Reports

The secretary, on behalf of the Executive Committee, submitted its annual report, which was adopted. [See Appendix for text.]

Chairman Morris, of the Committee on Finance, presented its report, approving the report of Treasurer L. S. Hanks for the year ending June 30, 1908; to which in its turn was attached the favorable report of the Auditing Committee (Chairman E. B. Steensland) upon the treasurer's accounts. These several reports were adopted. [See Appendix for texts.]

The secretary presented his fiscal report for the year ending June 30, 1908, all accounts having been audited by the secretary of state and warrants therefor paid by the state treasurer. [See Appendix for texts.]

[1] The report of the proceedings here published, is condensed from the official MS. records of the Society.

Curators Elected

Messrs. E. W. Keyes, R. M. Bashford, W. M. Smith, I. S. Bradley, and F. F. Proudfit were appointed a committee on the nomination of curators, and reported in favor of the following persons, who were unanimously elected for the terms indicated:

For term ending at annual meeting in 1909, to succeed William F. Vilas, deceased, Thomas E. Brittingham of Madison.

For term ending at annual meeting in 1910, to succeed John B. Cassoday, deceased, J. M. Naughtin of Madison.

For term ending at annual meeting in 1911, Rasmus B. Anderson, Charles N. Brown, George B. Burrows, Frederic K. Conover, Burr W. Jones, J. Howard Palmer, John B. Parkinson, and N. B. Van Slyke, of Madison; Emil Baensch, of Manitowoc; Alfred A. Jackson, of Janesville; John Luchsinger, of Monroe; and Archbishop S. G. Messmer, of Milwaukee.

Reports of Auxiliaries

Annual reports were received from the Society's several auxiliaries, the local historical societies of Green Bay, Manitowoc, Ripon, Sauk County, Superior, Waukesha County, and Walworth County, and they were ordered to be printed in the *Proceedings*. [See Appendix for texts.]

Open Session

The open session of the Society was held at 7:30 o'clock in the North Hall of the Museum, President Wight in the chair.

The president, in opening the meeting, delivered his annual address as follows:

My Friend's Library

In all material things save riches, my friend is rich. Among other things, by many devices and self-denials he has clustered together the collection of volumes—oft taken from their shelves, oft caressed and pondered—which form his library. An invitation to visit and examine his treasures, an invitation to be neither asked nor declined, was greedily accepted.

There are book collections which with their gilt binding, their brassy backs, reflect all suns; there are also those of dun hue and dusty flavor which suggest the second-hand shop—that cruel retreat where forlorn books gaze helplessly from unloved shelves. Of both new and old my friend's store is composed, occasional glints of light pointing to a fresh and modern dress; frequent sombre colors, frequent shabby garmenting, indicating a long and checkered pilgrimage.

A modest room, clothed with such treasures as even a poor man may possess, is the home of my friend's friends. Inexpensive shelving, comely cases, quaint chairs, a bust of Plato, a sightless Milton, Marie Antoinette passing to her apotheosis, a writing table littered and ink-spotted—these the frugal furniture and settings.

Transfused by the quiet solemnity of my surroundings, and sinking into the luxurious apathy of a generous rocker, thus I heard and thus—for I efface my queries—he spoke:

"Notice, first of all, please, that there are no gaps or spaces here and there, indicating that some petit larcener has borrowed. Lending books is an expensive luxury, particularly if the borrower, when he returns at all, returns tardily, and then with the doubtful usury of his own erudite notes. I borrow neither, nor lend. If I cannot own a coveted publication I refuse to read it at another's expense. Charles Lamb had a healthy fear, for he exclaimed, 'Reader, if thou art blessed with a moderate collection, be shy of showing it.' Let me pick out three or four of my treasures, small in bulk and easy to smuggle forth. Imagine if you can the depth of my misery if some borrowing thief should neglect to return this which I now show you. This is the second book, or rather the second edition of the first book, printed in Wisconsin, a little brown paper pamphlet of twenty-three pages, dated 1838. It is entitled, *A catalogue of plants found in the vicinity of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. By Increase A. Lapham.* Dr. Lapham was president for ten years of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and this brochure is duly catalogued by Mr. Henry E. Legler, in an article published in the *Proceedings* of that Society for 1903. Here is another treasure that I should hate to lend — Webster's *American Spelling Book*, published in 1796 by that prince of printers, Isaiah Thomas. Observe how anxiously and laboriously the words are syllabled, so that the proper orthographical consecution may be more easily acquired. Here is an-

other, ragged and tattered, that I particularly shield. It is *The New England Primer* — not the first edition, which no one owns and whose date is clouded in mystery, but a specimen of the output bearing the imprint 'Boston, 1810,' which, although not yet a century old, has become very, very scarce. Even this reprint (Boston, 1843), is missing from many catalogues claiming some pretentions. How doleful this *Primer* must have seemed to the growing youth of the Revolutionary period! Notice this solemn statement under a picture of a monarch in his coffin:

Xerxes the great did die,
And so must you and I.

Upon such mortuary meat did our American Cæsars feed when they were fighting George the Third!

"Here is another bit of scarcity to be tenderly protected. It is called *An Astronomical Diary or an Almanack for the year of our Lord Christ 1749.* By Nath. Ames, him of Dedham, Massachusetts. This is one of a long series of almanacs by similar title and author, and there are some extensive libraries that claim a complete set; but he is a lucky collector who has amassed even one year. Almanacs are not always entertaining consecutive reading; but Ames's italicized proverbs, that trickle zigzag down the monthly page, are often curious if not instructive. Thus, running down past several dates, beginning December 7, the astute weather man advises,

Ladies, take heed,
Lay down your fans,
And handle well
Your warming pans —

not a bad injunction for a New England December!

"My own particular Ames almanac has an especial interest for Wisconsin people. It belonged in his lifetime to the Rev. Eleazer Williams of Green Bay, him who by his own grace and that of the Rev. Mr. Hanson, was a king of France. It bears the autograph of the Rev. Warham Williams of Waltham, Massachusetts, who was a son of the Rev. John Williams of Deerfield, and was a captive with his father in Canada from 1704 to 1707. The earlier owner having been a collateral ancestor of the Reverend Eleazer, the removal of this treasure from Waltham to Green Bay is easily explicable.

"Just now I mentioned to you the Rev. John Williams of Deerfield. One of the most interesting efforts of my book-gathering has been to attempt a full collection of all the editions of his *The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion.* So far as completeness is concerned, my effort has thus far been, and it will continue to be, a failure. A copy of the first edition (Boston, 1708), only a very few of the richest libraries own. In all my years of constant search, during which my zeal has often outbid my frugality, I have never obtained an earlier edition than the fifth. See my group of this veritable New England classic:

Fifth edition, Boston, 1774.
Sixth edition, Boston, 1795.
Sixth edition, with additions, Greenfield, Mass., 1800.
Sixth edition, with variations, New Haven, 1802.
Sunday School edition, Greenfield, 1833.
Sunday School edition, New York, 1833.
Seventh and latest edition, Northampton, 1853.

"Those books cost me much money; who steals these books steals cash!

"I have no particularly ancient tomes, none that go nearer than a hundred and thirty years of the time of Gutenburg and Faust. This ancient vellum has a trifle of pathos about its history. It is among the oldest of printed European genealogies—Hieronymus Henninges's *Genealogiae Saxonicae*, printed at Ulyssa in 1587. The colophon exhibits an engraving of much quaintness, and shows that the printer was Michael Croenerius—an artisan rivalling in the excellence and dignity of his work Moretus and Plantin at Antwerp. This aged volume belonged, two hundred years ago, to Francis Palms, Armiger, of the Hague. Fifty years ago it was in the library of the eleventh earl of Westmoreland, at Apethorpe, England, a cultivated nobleman of varied tastes, whose books and pictures were of great value and interest. His son, the twelfth earl, unfortunate in his affairs, if not improvident and shiftless, became deeply involved, and the sale of the ancestral collections became a necessity. Thus am I the owner of one of the gems of his library.

"Do you happen to recollect that, in September, 1909, England in general, and Lichfield in particular, will celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of the earliest, and the king, of lexicographers? I have this reminder of Dr. Samuel Johnson,

clumsy and difficult to dislodge from its mooring, bearing the imprint, London, 1786. It is his *Dictionary*. Even in 1786, the vitriolic prejudices still clung to the pages, although thirty years before, the British government threatened the author with a libel suit for this definition of a pension, 'An allowance made to any one without an equivalent. In England it is generally understood to mean pay given to a state hireling for treason to his country.' There is a grim humor in these words, when we remember that this selfsame Dr. Johnson subsequently accepted a pension from this selfsame British government!

"You ask if complete collections of the literature upon any one topic have ever been made. Doubtless not, unless one specialized very narrowly in his collecting, circumscribed his wants to bound books only, and but few printings had appeared. Here is, however, a group on a topic of considerable scope, covering a period of more than a hundred and twenty-five years of time, and yet approaching very near completion. The topic is the Shakers. Here are all the bound volumes that have appeared upon that subject, including the different editions of each volume; here are almost countless pamphlets, newspaper screeds, and magazine articles. These pamphlets comprehend seed catalogues, and catalogues of all imaginable articles that the Shakers vend. There has not been a Shaker title advertised for sale within the last three years that was not duplicated in this collection. These were a gift to me from the hand of the collector—a youth twenty-one years of age, who, mayhap, inherited bookish germs.

"You inquire about rare American titles upon European subjects. Here is one that will interest you, the earliest book upon the French Revolution, printed in this country. The author is unknown; the title, *A concise history of the Revolution in France from its commencement to the execution of the Gironde party and the death of the duke of Orleans;* Philadelphia, 1794. The frontispiece is a gruesome picture—Louis XVI, bound upon the guillotine, the fatal knife just descending upon his neck. You will notice that the executioner, Sanson, presents to us his back only, for the Sanson in the time of the French Revolution was a retiring and diffident bourreau, shunning the blood which his profession required him to shed, and cutting off heads simply to save his own.

"This reference to the French Revolution leads me finally to

direct your brief attention to the books that crowd these shelves upon some phases of that great cataclysm.

"Here are six volumes giving in great detail the lives of the just mentioned Sanson family — seven generations of executioners between 1688 and 1847. Not many in this bloody business care to exploit themselves. The headsman who slew Charles Stuart still is concealed behind his mask. But they do things differently in Paris. The author of these biographies, Henri Sanson, was the last of his line — a gentleman of great cultivation and high character, who with infinite relief received in 1847, at the hands of the French government, his dismissal from his odious occupation.

"Here is a life of Louis XVI by Bertrand de Moleville. Not a particularly scarce volume, I admit, but you will observe an insert — a letter in the autograph of Louis XVI. Put your hand on the page where his hand pulsed, not because it was a royal hand, but because it belonged to a large and generous soul slain for the sins of others.

"The books around you, in many tongues, pertaining to Louis XVI, to his sister Elizabeth, to Marie Antoinette, and to her son and daughter, I would be glad in great detail to exhibit, did your time and mine permit. Some of these treasures were obtained with infinite difficulty; all of them bespeak my devotion to a noble group, who were the victims of untold wrongs."

Thus the monologue ended, save that as my friend conducted me from his retreat to the outer air he repeated these words from Milton's *The Liberty of Unlicensed Printing:*

> Books are not dead things, but do contain a potencie of life in them to be as active as that soule was whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve as in a violl the purest efficacie and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. Who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, but he who destroys a good book kills reason itselfe, slays an immortality rather than a life.

Thus reciting, he ushered me into the day.

Turning from my friend's library to that of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, it is my privilege to state that the additions to its treasures during the past year have been 13,210 titles (books and pamphlets together), so that the library now owns 307,674 titles. The membership of the Society is now 650, a net increase of 23 over a year ago.

Historical Papers

The following historical papers were presented, for the text of which, see Appendix:

William Freeman Vilas, by Burr W. Jones, of Madison.
The British Ministry and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, by Clarence Walworth Alvord, of Urbana, Ill.
John B. Cassoday, by Edmund Ray Stevens, of Madison.
The Old West, by Frederick Jackson Turner, of Madison.
Julius T. Clark, by Elisha Williams Keyes, of Madison.
Nils Otto Tank, by Hjalmar Rued Holand, of Ephraim,
Cyrus Hall McCormick and the Reaper, by Reuben G. Thwaites, of Madison.

Reception

Upon the conclusion of the literary exercises, the resident curators tendered an informal reception to those in attendance at the meeting. The ladies of the Library staffs of the Society and of the University of Wisconsin served refreshments.

Executive Committee Meeting

The annual meeting of the Executive Committee was held in the lecture room at the close of the Society's meeting, in the afternoon.

Officers Elected

Messrs. F. W. Oakley, F. K. Conover, and G. B. Burrows were appointed a committee on the nomination of a vice-president to succeed William F. Vilas, deceased, and reported in favor of Burr W. Jones, who thereupon was duly elected to said office.

Mr. Stevens, on behalf of the Library Committee, presented the resignation of Miss Minnie Myrtle Oakley from the position of assistant librarian, and recommended that Miss Annie Amelia Nunns be elected to the position. Miss Nunns was thereupon elected as Miss Oakley's successor.

Draper Burial Lot

Chairman Morris, from the select committee on the care of the burial lot of the late Lyman Copeland Draper, offered the following report, which was accepted; the committee was, at its request, discharged from further service:

The special committee of the Society charged with the duty of depositing $100 with the Forest Hill Cemetery Commissioners for the perpetual care of the Draper burial lot, wherein are interred the remains of Dr. Draper, his first wife, and their adopted daughter, and to place upon said lot four corner stones and three markers, respectfully report that the duty imposed upon them has been performed and that the amount expended in addition to the $100 deposited with the Forest Hill Cemetery Commissioners is the sum of $250.

Respectfully submitted,

W. A. P. Morris
E. W. Keyes
N. B. Van Slyke
Special Committee.

New Members Elected

The following new members were unanimously elected:

Life

Beloit — Edwin M. Bailey.
Madison — Wilber W. Warner.
Milwaukee — George Lines, Charles A. Paeschke.
Racine — John J. Davis.
Cedar Rapids, Iowa — Lew W. Anderson.
North Yakima, Washington — Lucullus V. McWhorter.

Annual

Boscobel — Winfield W. Gilman.
Crandon — Leonard T. Crabtree.
Dodgeville — William H. Thomas.
Eau Claire — Marshall Cousins, John B. Fleming.
Fond du Lac — Francis H. Lewis.
Green Bay — Mrs. Margaret T. Blesch.
Hudson — John P. Inglis.
Janesville — Halvor L. Skavlem.
Kenosha — Daniel O. Head.
La Crosse — George M. Heath, Orlando Holway, Edwin M. Wing.
Madison — Chandler P. Chapman, Wayland J. Chase, H. C. Hengell, Frederick W. MacKenzie, L. B. Murphy.
Manitowoc — Walter E. Larson, Miss Matena Tollefson.

Mayville — Charles W. Peake.
Milwaukee — James G. Jenkins, Thomas L. Kennan, Theodore B. Olsen, Philip M. Pistorius, William D. Reed, Adolph F. Sauer, Arthur J. Wright.
Milton — William C. Daland.
Mondovi — William T. Ream.
Mt. Calvary — Benedict Mueller.
Neenah — William H. Hesse.
Norwalk — Otto Engel.
Oshkosh — Edward B. Barr.
Racine — Michael F. Blichfeld, Ivar Kirkegaard.
St. Francis — Leopold E. Drexel.
Superior — Arthur D. S. Gillett.
Waukesha — Daniel J. Hemlock, Walter C. Ward.
Whitewater — Albert Salisbury.
Duluth — Mrs. Jessie Wakeman Seymour.
Freeport — Smith D. Atkins.
Minneapolis — Mrs. Minnie Lawrence Jaynes, Arthur T. Sexton.

Anna R. Sheldon Art Fund

The committee unanimously adopted the following resolution, submitted by the Finance Committee through its chairman, Mr. Morris:

Whereas, The Executive Committee is in receipt of the following communication from the Anna R. Sheldon Memorial Committee:

"The Anna R. Sheldon Memorial Committee beg leave to present to the Executive Committee of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin a sum of money to be used as a fund for suitably perpetuating as herein indicated, the memory of the late Anna Russell Sheldon of Madison, Wis., who in addition to the value of her cultivated and charming personality rendered important service to the State of Wisconsin in the cause of popular education in history and art.

"*First*. It is the wish of the committee that a sum to be designated by them, but amounting to not less than fifteen hundred dollars, shall constitute a perpetual special fund of the Society, to be called Anna R. Sheldon Art Fund, the same to be held and administered in trust for the people of the State of Wisconsin, by said State Historical Society. The income only of this fund shall be expended in the acquisition, for the Library of said Society, of art books or other publications bearing upon the fine arts, and for no other purpose; and each of said books or other publications obtained in this manner for the Library shall bear an appropriate book-plate signifying that it was purchased from the income of said fund. In the event that all of the income of the fund shall not be expended in any one year, the unexpended balance shall be added to the income of the fund for the succeeding year.

"*Second.* It is the intention of the Committee also to present to the Society, from time to time, additional sums of money, to be used for purchases of like character to those herein proposed to be made from the income of the Anna R. Sheldon Art Fund.

"*Third.* In making this gift and future gifts to the Society for the purpose named, said Committee does not wish to hamper or restrict the Society in the selection of said memorial purchases; but so long as said Committee maintains its existence, it or some authorized representative thereof expects to be consulted with regard to the expenditures above contemplated.

"MADISON, August 19, 1908.

JESSIE T. THWAITES
MARY G. BROWN
MARY BUNN
SOPHIA L. MAIN
AMELIA F. STEVENS."

Be it therefore *Resolved*, that the Executive Committee, acting in behalf of the people of the State, hereby accepts the trust thus imposed upon it by said Memorial Committee, and will endeavor to carry out the wishes of the latter.

Amendments to By-Laws

The following amendments to the by-laws, also recommended by the Finance Committee, were unanimously adopted:

Amend the by-laws by adding thereto the following section, to be numbered 16:

Section 16. There shall be a perpetual special fund to be known as the Anna R. Sheldon Art Fund, the income only of which shall be used for the acquisition, for the Library of the Society, of art books or other publications bearing upon the fine arts, and for no other purpose; and each of said books or other publications obtained in this manner for the Library shall bear an appropriate book-plate signifying that it was purchased from the income of said fund. In the event that all of the income of the fund shall not be expended in any one year, the unexpended balance shall be added to the income of the fund for the succeeding year. The principal of said Anna R. Sheldon Art Fund shall consist of moneys received for that purpose from time to time from the Anna R. Sheldon Memorial Committee; in case said memorial committee also desires at any time to present additional sums of money to increase the income of the fund, and not the principal, such course shall be permissible. Said principal shall be loaned by the treasurer of the Society in the same manner as, and in connection with, the other special funds of the Society.

Renumber the existing sections 16, 17, 18, and 19, so as to permit the introduction of the foregoing new section 16.

Amend the first two printed lines of section 11 of the by-laws by striking out the words "collectively be designated the general fund, to," so

that the section shall read: "The annual appropriations from the State shall be used under the direction of the Executive Committee," etc.

Amend the second printed line of section 12, and the first printed line of section 16, by striking out the word "Binding" and by substituting therefor the words "General and Binding," the object being to change the title of the present "Binding Fund" to "General and Binding Fund."

Acting Secretary Authorized

The Library Committee, through Mr. Stevens, offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved—That the secretary be authorized to appoint, from time to time, as occasion may arise, some member of his staff to serve as acting secretary during his absence from the city; said acting secretary to have authority, while serving as such, to sign orders, pay-rolls, and other official documents, and otherwise to exercise the authority of the office of secretary. Such acting secretary shall receive from the Society no extra compensation for this special service.

The meeting thereupon stood adjourned.

Appendix

Executive Committee's Report

[Submitted to the Society at the fifty-sixth annual meeting, October 15, 1908]

Summary

Vice-Presidents Cassoday and Vilas passed from this life during the year. The Draper burial lot has been appropriately cared for. The Library has lost the services of two of its departmental chiefs — Miss Oakley of the catalogue department, and Mr. Hean in charge of newspaper files. Important improvements have been instituted, in the erection of the glass-and-steel mezzanine floors in the manuscript, newspaper, and catalogue rooms, and in the building of additional newspaper shelving in the basement. The construction of the northwest wing is, however, an urgent necessity, and the attention of the legislature of 1909 should again be called thereto. The Library growth of the twelve months has been 13,210 books and pamphlets, making the present strength of the Library 307,674 titles. The Museum has also had a prosperous year. Through the Committee of Seven on co-operation between state and local historical societies, appointed a year ago by the American Historical Association, a movement is now on foot for a more systematic search through French archives than has hitherto been possible, for material bearing upon American history up to the fall of New France (1763). Vol. xviii of *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, soon to appear, will be among the most important of the Society's publications. Volume vi of the reprint edition is ready for distribution. The report treats of many details of Library and other administrative affairs.

Vice-Presidents Cassoday and Vilas

On December 10, 1907, the Society lost by death one of its most honored members, Chief Justice John B. Cassoday, of the State supreme court, who had been one of our vice-presidents since

December 10, 1896. On August 27, 1908, the list of vice-presidents was again thinned by the death of Colonel William F. Vilas, who had served us in that capacity since December 8, 1898. Both of these gentlemen rendered conspicuous services to this institution as well as to the State at large, and it is fitting that at the present annual meeting they be made the subjects of special addresses; these will be presented by two of our associates appointed to that task — Professor Jones presenting a eulogy of Colonel Vilas and Judge Stevens one of the chief justice.

Financial Condition

State Appropriations

Certified expenditures for the Society from State appropriations thereto are audited by the secretary of state, all claims being paid by the state treasurer in the same manner as with other State departments.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1908, covering the period of the present financial report, the Society received $24,861.02 from the State, in direct standing appropriations—$19,861.02 under section 2, chapter 533, Laws of 1907, for administrative and miscellaneous expenses; and $5,000 under section 3 of the same chapter, for books, maps, manuscripts, etc. In addition to these receipts from the State, there was received from the Regents of the University, on account of semi-annual balance on maintenance of building, $315.14—making total receipts of $25,176.16.

The following statements show the condition of these funds on July 1, 1908:

SECTION 2, CHAPTER 533, LAWS OF 1907

Receipts, year ending June 30. 1908.

Unexpended balance in State Treasury, July 1, 1907	$98 00
State appropriation for year ending June 30, 1908	19,861 02
U. W. Regents (rebate)	315 14
Total	$20,274 16

Disbursements, year ending June 30, 1908

Administration of the Society

Services	$10,310 42	
Supplies and equipment	10 98	
Freight and drayage	235 13	
Travel	132 29	
		$10,688 82

Maintenance of Building[1]

Services	$5,954 60	
Supplies	1,341 66	
Light and power (rebate to U. W.)	1,339 01	
Repairs	634 13	
		$9,269 40
		$19,958 22
Unexpended balance in State treasury, July 1, 1908		315 94
		$20,274 16

SECTION 3, CHAPTER 533, LAWS OF 1907

Receipts, year ending June 30, 1908

Unexpended balance July 1, 1907	$1 73
State appropriation for year ending June 30, 1908	5,000 00
Total	$5,001 73

Disbursements, year ending June 30, 1908

Books and periodicals	$4,771 64	
Maps and manuscripts	192 36	
Pictures	37 35	
		$5,001 75
Overdrawn (through clerical error)		02
		$5,001 73

Details of the foregoing expenditures will be found in the fiscal report of the secretary and superintendent, submitted in connection herewith. A copy of this report has been filed with the governor, according to law.

The Binding Fund

is the product of special gifts thereto, one-half of the receipts from membership dues and the sale of ordinary duplicates, and accrued interest. Upon July 1, 1907, it consisted of cash and securities aggregating $29,789.77; upon July 1, 1908, as will be seen by the

[1] This represents merely the amount expended by the Society for the purpose. Deducting what the Society paid to the University of Wisconsin in liquidation of joint account the year before, the former's outlay towards maintenance of the building aggregated $7,930. 39. On its part, the cost to the University for electric light and the building's share of heating-plant expenses during the fiscal year was $7,109.22, making the maintenance of the building a total cost of $15,039.61. Each institution was charged with one-half this amount.

accompanying report of the treasurer, it contained $30,459.04—a gain of $671.27 during the year. No longer needed for binding purposes, as this work is now done for us by the state printer, the income of the fund has for many years past been chiefly utilized to help out the State appropriation in the matter of the salaries of employes, and is thereby an important factor in the administration of the Society. The Committee would recommend that, in order to avoid confusion, the name of this fund be changed to one more nearly designating its present use.

The Antiquarian Fund

is, like the Binding Fund, derived from accrued interest and from the acquisition of one-half the receipts from membership fees and sale of ordinary duplicates. In anticipation of the fund reaching, by the opening of the present fiscal year, the agreed-upon minimum of $10,000, the Committee voted at its meeting of April 10, 1908, that after July 1 there might be expended from the income of this fund the sum of $400 per year, for "prosecuting historical investigations, and for procuring for the Museum desirable objects of historic or ethnological interest." Upon July 1 the fund contained $10,520.90.

The Draper Fund

had reached upon July 1 the sum of $11,017.24, an advance during the year of $131.20. This increase was derived from interest receipts and the sale of publications emanating from the Draper manuscripts.

During the fiscal year, but $125 was expended from the income of the fund, for "indexing and calendaring the Draper manuscripts." The sum of $350 was (per resolution of November 7, 1907) drawn from the year's income to meet the expenses of the Draper Burial Lot Committee, whose report is elsewhere referred to. It is hoped that there may be no further necessity for a diversion of the income of this fund, so that henceforth we may count on no less than $400 per year for the important work intended to be done at its charge. It need hardly be pointed out that this sum represents but a part of the expense of the undertaking to the Society; it is, however, a welcome contribution thereto.

No department of the Library is quite so much in need as that of manuscripts. In fact, no other of our several departments can

so directly make contributions to American scholarship, for our manuscript collections are large, cover a wide field of important interest, and are of course unique. Properly to index and calendar these papers, and prepare publications therefrom, requires technical skill of a high order, that should receive reasonable compensation; and regular employment must needs be guaranteed to professional assistants. Yet while extremely important, this is not a work calculated to appeal strongly to the public at large. So long as we are obliged to depend for the maintenance of the manuscript department upon State funds, as we still substantially are, we shall fail of attaining our highest measure of success. Endowment funds aggregating no less than $50,000 are essential to the proper conduct of this branch of our service. The obtaining of these is today our most pressing necessity.

The Mary M. Adams Art Fund

now contains $4,851.47, an increase within the year of $68.77. Expenditures therefrom during the twelve months, in the service of the art side of the Museum, aggregated $160.03. Hereafter, this fund should yield an average income of $200, which will in a term of years bring to the Museum many valuable and interesting articles. We need, however, several funds of this size, to work important results.

Library Accessions

Statistical

Following is a summary of library accessions for the year ending September 30, 1908:

Books purchased (including exchanges)	2,883	
Books by gift	2,581	
Total books		5,464
Pamphlets by gift	6,683	
Pamphlets on exchange and by purchase	718	
Pamphlets made from newspaper clippings	345	
Total pamphlets		7,746
Total accessions		13,210
Present (estimated) strength of library:		
Books		153,504
Pamphlets		154,170
Total		307,674

Executive Committee's Report

The year's book accessions are classified as follows:

Cyclopædias	19
Newspapers and periodicals	1,330
Philosophy and religion	102
Biography and genealogy	265
History—general	9
History—foreign	163
History—American	194
Historical—local (U. S.)	260
Geography and travel	282
Political and social sciences	2,522
Natural sciences	52
Useful arts	41
British Patent Office reports	114
Fine arts	12
Language and literature	15
Bibliography	84
Total	5,464

Comparative statistics of gifts and purchases:

	1907	*1908*
Total accessions	11,584	13,210
Percentage of gifts, in accessions	71	70
Percentage of purchases (including exchanges), in accessions	29	30
Books given	3,057	3,943
Pamphlets given	7,777	9,866
Total gifts (including duplicates, which are not accessioned)	10,834	13,809
Percentage of gifts that were duplicates	24	33
Percentage of gifts that were accessions	76	67

There have been bound during the year a total of 2,809 volumes, classified as follows:

Periodicals	407
Newspapers	859
British Patent Office reports	264
British Parliamentary papers	94
State reports	567
Miscellaneous books	618
Total	2,809

The accessions for the past ten years have been as follows: 1899, 7,727; 1900, 8,983; 1901, 11,340; 1902, 10,510; 1903, 10,584; 1904, 11,990; 1905, 12,634; 1906, 10,214; 1907, 11,584; 1908, 13,210. Average 10,877.

The Library

Catalogue Department

Considerable progress has been made during the year in re-classifying and re-cataloguing the large pamphlet collection. In this field, especial attention has been paid to the War of Secession material, numbering some 8,000 pamphlet items, the cataloguing of which is now nearly completed. At the same time, other classes have been brought up to date in this respect, including South America. The widely diversified material bearing upon the study of labor and socialism in North America, chiefly collected through the American Bureau of Industrial Research, has required constant attention, but is now in excellent condition. It is expected that by the close of another twelve-month the cataloguers will have caught up with practically all of their accumulated back work, the legacy of many years of insufficient assistance, in addition to cataloguing and classifying current material. It will then be possible for the department — still rather slightly manned, however — to turn its attention to many needed improvements in technical methods. The purchase of Library of Congress printed cards continues, so far as practicable, and assists in lightening the work, especially in current accessions.

The rapid growth of the official depository catalogue of the Library of Congress has been taxing our capacity for storage, for the agreement with that institution provides for distinct cases in a room apart from the public catalogue. With the introduction of a mezzanine floor in the cataloguing room, elsewhere alluded to, and the installation of new cases thereon, the Library of Congress catalogue will have room sufficient for its growth during several years to come.

The committee regrets to be obliged to announce the withdrawal of our assistant librarian, Miss Minnie Myrtle Oakley, head of the cataloguing department, who has held that position since January, 1890; her resignation becomes effective on the date of this report (September 30, 1908). The professional ability of Miss Oakley has long been cordially recognized by her fellows throughout the country; for several years past she has served very efficiently as secretary of the National Association of State Librarians; and she has not infrequently been tempted by flattering offers to

transfer her activities to other libraries than our own. Such overtures, however, she has persistently declined; but family considerations have lately impelled her to choose Southern California as her future home. Miss Oakley's technical skill has for nearly nineteen years been a valuable asset of the Library; but while of course she will be much missed upon this side of her work, our greatest loss will come through the removal from our service of a strong, sympathetic, lofty nature that has throughout this long term of years been a daily inspiration to every member of the Society's staff.

Public Documents Department

During the year, a considerable quantity of material has been received in exchange with the Library of Congress.

Arrangements have been made with the states of Australasia for the most important of their official publications, these being especially needed for the study of comparative legislation. An effort will be made during the coming year to place the department on a similar footing with the various countries of Central and South America, for whose reports there is a constantly growing demand.

Together with a noticeable increase in the use of the department at large, there has been throughout the twelve months just closed, a particularly marked growth in the call for municipal documents, especially for the study of the control of public utilities. This led to a considerable enlargement of the scope of the department in this direction. All American cities having a minimum population of 50,000 in the census of 1900, have, with generally excellent results, been applied to for their collected documents, charters, and ordinances. The municipal collections of the department were already fair, but are now creditable.

In many other directions, also, the department is seeking to bring its collections to date. It is impossible to foresee what particular line of documentary material may at any time suddenly spring into importance as the subject of special study, hence it is necessary to keep well in hand our collections in every field. Years may elapse before some of them are wanted; but when asked for they are usually in urgent demand. Perfecting collections of public documents is, however, a difficult task, both because of their great variety and the not infrequent difficulty of se-

curing proper attention from public officials supposedly interested in their distribution.

In addition to the ever present labor of acquisition, much progress has been made in catching up with the work of cataloguing and binding. In this latter connection, it should be mentioned that the much used British Parliamentary Papers are now bound through the year 1880, leaving the years 1860 to 1879 still to be treated.

Maps and Manuscripts Department

A competent cataloguer will soon be permanently attached to this department, to index new accessions as they arrive, and catch up with the back work, which has necessarily been allowed to accumulate during the past two or three years.

The work of calendaring manuscripts has made slight progress during the year. The time of the editorial assistant nominally assigned to this task, has been occupied with helping in the preparation of documentary material for publication. We much need in this department the services of still another expert, whose time can for several years to come be devoted exclusively to calendaring. The manuscripts in our possession cannot attain their highest degree of usefulness until completely calendared.

A mezzanine floor has been installed, and soon there will be much added space for the storage of maps, manuscripts, etc.; the present accommodations are now overcrowded. The receipts of material suitable for book illustration have been considerable during the year, and efforts are being made to add largely to this useful feature of our collections.

Newspaper Department

Many files of considerable importance have been received during the year; and there has also been much improvement in the matter of filling gaps in some of the older files.

A large amount of new shelving has been erected in the basement, so that now all available space for storage is occupied. The basement has also been equipped with improved adjustable reading tables; and several typewriter stands have been constructed, to enable copyists to work with greater facility. A mezzanine floor has been placed in the consultation room, thus adding to storage for current files. The use of the department has greatly increased during the year.

Executive Committee's Report

On the date of this report (September 30), the department loses the services of its efficient chief, Mr. Clarence Scott Hean, who both as apprentice and assistant has been in the employ of the Library since July 1, 1899. Mr. Hean leaves us to take charge of the library of the College of Agriculture, University of Wisconsin; he carries with him into this somewhat broader field the respect, friendship, and good wishes of his former colleagues.

Acquisitions of Labor Material

Since our report of a year ago, the American Bureau of Industrial Research, occupying quarters in this building, has continued its search for material on the labor movement. This is, as acquired, presented either to the Library of the Society or to that of our neighbor, the University of Wisconsin, according to the respective lines of collection agreed upon between the two libraries. Two private libraries have within the twelve months been added to the collections of this character within the building: those of Herman Schlueter, editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, and of the late Henry D. Lloyd.

The Schlueter collection is, many persons suppose, the most complete library of German socialistic literature in existence. It contains many works not to be found even in the party archives of the German social democracy in Berlin. For many years active in German political life, Schlueter collected much extremely scarce and invaluable material concerning the earliest, and in many respects obscure, socialist movement in Germany in the 40's of the nineteenth century—among others, the now rare first works of Marx and Engels.

The Schlueter collection contains not only most of the pamphlets printed in the 60's and 70's previous to the exclusion law against social democracy (1878), but many of the leaflets and pamphlets that were secretly circulated after that law made literature of the sort illegal. Yet only by means of these is it possible to form a true judgment concerning the German party struggles of the time.

There are almost complete proceedings of all the socialist congresses of the German, Austrian, and Swiss socialistic parties so far as these have been published in separate form. The principal organs of the German central democracy, and those of the socialist party which are printed in foreign countries and secretly circu-

lated in Germany, likewise form a part of the collection. There are also various files of the socialist labor papers published later in Berlin. Of great significance for scientific research is the remarkably complete series of political reviews and monthlies published by socialists in the German language. All this material, absolutely indispensable for the historical investigation and understanding of the socialist and labor movement, is practically complete in the Schlueter library.

The collection also includes material of literary as well as social and political importance. There are about a hundred extremely rare works of the first period of German socio-political lyric poetry, which developed out of the radical struggles of the 40's. This poetical literature has been almost forgotten, and has been largely neglected. Bringing together as it does the work of such poets as Beck, Pütmann, Jordan, and Herwegh, it is believed to be the most complete assemblage of German socio-political lyrics in existence.

Although consisting largely of sources in the field of German socialism, the collection contains much that is valuable for the history of the socialist and labor movements in the United States and other countries. Almost all the sources for the history of the German labor movement in America are here brought together. Here one finds nearly all the newspapers which the German-American laborers published from 1846 to 1875 in support of their struggles and interests and for the dissemination of their ideas. All kinds of leaflets, convention proceedings, pamphlets, and similar official documents referring to the American labor movement and the development and spread of socialist ideas in the United States, constitute an important addition to the large amount of literature of this kind already in our building.

Other material of value, in the Schlueter library, is a large amount of rare printed and written documents concerning the history of the International Workmen's Association, some of which have never been made public. In addition to the printed matter relating to the labor and socialist movement, the collection contains n entire series of rare scientific writings concerned with related subjects, such as political economy, history, and sociology.

With the acquisition of the Schlueter collection, the libraries of this Society and of the University of Wisconsin together undoubtedly have the most complete collection of socio-political and labor literature in the United States. The student of the labor move-

ment in Germany, England, and America, and of the development of socialist literature in these countries, will find our collections indispensable.

The Lloyd collection has not yet been fully examined. It consists of thirty-five packing cases of books, pamphlets, newspaper clippings, and manuscripts on co-operation, trusts, railways, public utilities, trade unions, socialism, and anarchism, both American and foreign—especially with reference to New Zealand. It will, when classified, be distributed between our two libraries according to the scheme of differentiation.

Among other important private collections received, have been those of Prof. E. W. Bemis, of Cleveland; J. P. McDonnell, member of the New Jersey state board of arbitration, and editor of the *National Labor Standard*; Morritz Ruther, member of the council, Holyoke, Mass.; Jacob F. Byrnes, secretary of the Pennsylvania branches of the Sovereigns of Industry and the International Workingmen's Association; John Samuel, pioneer in the co-operative movement of this country; and H. H. Lane, International Wood Carvers' Association, New Haven, Conn.

During the year, files of the following labor papers were completed, and many other files lack only a few numbers to complete them:

Weekly Bulletin of the Clothing Trades.
Car Worker.
Commercial Telegrapher.
Elevator Constructor.
Bulletin of Metal Trades Association and Open Shop.
Railway Conductor.
Erie Railroad Employes Magazine.
The Tailor.
Typographical Journal.
American Co-operator.
Civic Federation Monthly Review.
The Comrade.
The Demonstrator.
Labor World (Columbus).
Social Democrat (England).
Teamsters' Magazine.
The Public.
Union Postal Clerk.
The Zukunft (Jewish).
New York Jewish Volks-Zeitung.

Zeit-Geist (Jewish),
The Emeth (Truth).
Freie Gesellschaft (Jewish).

A special effort was made, during the year, to secure material relating to the Grange (Patrons of Husbandry), and to injunctions in labor disputes. The constitutions and proceedings of many state granges were secured in this way, and a large number of copies of injunctions, briefs, and transcripts of testimony have been received.

Among contributors of valuable material have been:

Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America (Homer D. Call), Syracuse, N. Y.
Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, Pittsburgh.
American Anti-Boycott Association, New York.
Bamberg, H. C. (International Wood Carvers' Association), Dorchester, Mass.
Byrnes, Mary G., Philadelphia.
Citizens' Industrial Association of America, New York.
Coopers' International Union, Kansas City, Kans.
Fitch, L. S., Oakwood, Ind.
Fitzpatrick, John, Chicago Federation of Labor.
Freie Arbeiter Stimme (S. Janowsky), New York.
Hayes, Denis, Philadelphia.
Hayes, John, Washington, D. C.
Hayes, Max, Cleveland.
Henry, Alice, Chicago.
Hodge, George, Chicago.
Hoehn, G. A., St. Louis.
International Union of Cigarmakers (Adolf Strasser and George W. Perkins), Chicago.
Jewish Daily Forward, New York.
Jewish Labor World, Chicago.
Job, Frederick W. (Chicago Employers' Association).
Jones, Mrs. Jesse H.
Kelly, O. H., Washington, D. C.
Lane, H. H., New Haven, Conn.
Libby, E. H. (Maine State Grange).
National Association of Manufacturers.
New York State Grange.
O'Connell, Thomas B., Chicago.
Phillips, Thomas, Clementon, N. J.
Pope, Abner J., Home, Washington.
Robins, Mrs. Raymond, Chicago.
Rogers, Edward H., Chelsea, Mass.
Samuel, John, Woodlawn, Ill.

Schilling, Robert, Milwaukee.
Schlossberg, Joseph (Arbeiter), New York.
Shaw, Dr. Anna, Philadelphia.
Simpson, A. H., Boston.
Stearns, Fred, Milwaukee.
Stove Founders' National Defense Association (Thomas Hogan), Chicago.
Thum, Otto F., Denver.
Tilton, Joan Flora, Boston.
Trautmann, William E., Chicago.
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Indianapolis.
Wallace, Hugh, Buffalo, N. Y.
Walling, William English, New York.
Walters, Louis, Catawissa, Mo.
Western Federation of Miners, Denver.
Woman's National Trade Union League, Woodlawn, Ill.
Yates, Miss Jeanette.

Anna R. Sheldon Art Memorial

Mrs. Anna Russell Sheldon, of Madison, who died at Kenosha on November 26, 1907, rendered important service to this State in the cause of popular education in history and art; she was, as well, widely known through the Middle West for her cultivated and charming personality. With a view to suitably perpetuating her memory, a memorial committee[1] was formed among her old students, and a perpetual special fund raised with which to purchase for the Library of this Society "art books or other publications bearing upon the fine arts;" these accessions to "bear an appropriate book-plate signifying that they were purchased from the income of this fund."

On August 19 last, the committee deposited with our treasurer the sum of $1,500 as the principal of this fund, and with it the declaration that " It is the intention of the committee also to present to the Society, from time to time, additional sums of money, to be used for purchases of like character to those herein proposed to be made from the income of the Anna R. Sheldon Art Fund."

The Library has also been presented by Miss Georgiana Russell Sheldon, of Florence, Italy, with practically all of her mother's books on art and travel, to form a nucleus of the proposed collection. These, also, will bear the book-plate agreed upon for purchases from the memorial fund.

[1] Mrs. Jessie T. Thwaites, Mrs. Mary G. Brown, Miss Mary Bunn, Mrs. Sophia L. Main, and Miss Amelia F. Stevens.

Publications

Bulletins of Information

Eight bulletins have been published since our last report: No. 36, "Collection of Material on Labor and Socialism," issued in December, 1907; No. 37, "The Local History Story Hour — report of an experiment in the Kellogg Public Library at Green Bay," January, 1908; No. 38, "Periodicals and Newspapers Currently Received at the Library," same date; No. 39, "Reports of Auxiliary Societies, for 1907," same date; No. 40, "Wisconsin's Emblems and Sobriquet," same date; No. 41, "List of Active Members of the Society," February; No. 42, "Check-list of Publications of the Society, 1850–98," March; and No. 43, "Local Public Museums in Wisconsin," April. Nos. 36-40 were separates from the *Proceedings* for 1907.

Wisconsin Historical Collections

Vol. vi of reprints was published during the summer. The printers are now working on volumes vii–x, which it is hoped may be issued before the opening of the next legislature, thus closing the reprint series authorized by the legislature of 1903.

Volume xviii is now in the final stage of page proofs, and will probably be published during November. It will be remembered that in volume xvi we began the chronological presentation of contemporary documents concerning the French regime in the country of the upper Great Lakes, having special but not exclusive reference to events connected with Wisconsin.

Volume xvi (1902) ranged chronologically from 1634, the date of Nicolet's landfall, to 1727, when the Fox Wars were at their height.

Volume xvii (1906) embraced the years 1727 to 1748, a period of much interest, notable for French enterprise in exploration and the fur-trade, but giving signs of incipient decay in the political supremacy of New France, especially in Wisconsin, where the insurgent Foxes seriously interrupted communication between the widely-separated colonies of Canada and Louisiana.

Volume xviii concludes the presentation of documents concerning New France in the upper country; the range being from 1743, when the Sioux were reported to have allied themselves with the Foxes, to 1760, when the old French post of Mackinac was evacu-

ated by the conquered French. These papers are followed by documents illustrating the British regime in this region, between 1760 and 1800. The volume closes with the Mackinac register of marriages during the eventful century from 1725 to 1821.

Draper Manuscript Publications

Within the year appeared the second volume of the Draper series—publications of annotated documents illustrating early Westtern history, selected from the Draper manuscript collection in possession of the Society. The new volume was entitled *Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775–77.* Edited by members of the Library staff, the cost of printing was met through the generosity of Wisconsin Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution. It is intended that this shall be followed, within a year or two, by another volume, continuing the subject through the remaining Western campaigns of the Revolution.

Wisconsin History Commission

Chapter 298, Laws of 1905, as amended by chapter 378, Laws of 1907, provided for a Wisconsin History Commission, to consist of the governor of the state, the head professor of American history in the University of Wisconsin, the secretary of this Society, the secretary of the Wisconsin Library Commission, and a representative of the Department of Wisconsin, Grand Army of the Republic. The duties of the commission are, substantially, to collect and disseminate information concerning Wisconsin's part in the War of Secession. It has thus far been arranged to print two series of publications—one of original narratives, and another of reprints of "rare published material."

The original narratives were, a few days ago, inaugurated by the publication of Col. William F. Vilas's paper on the Vicksburg campaign. There is now in press a narrative of prison life and escape therefrom, by Gen. John Azor Kellogg. The first issue of reprints will be a reproduction of Col. Frank A. Haskell's now classic account of the battle of Gettysburg. It has fallen to the Society's staff to edit these various volumes and see them through the press, and the distribution will chiefly be from this office. All of our members will receive the publications as they appear. Interesting in matter, and attractively printed and bound, it is expected that they will at once become popular.

Administrative Details

Professional Meetings, etc.

When consistent with proper attention to his administrative duties, the secretary and superintendent has within the year accepted invitations to address public meetings in this and other states upon topics associated with our work. A summarized allusion to these would seem proper in any report of his year's stewardship.

Upon November 29, 1907, he addressed the Central Ohio Valley historical conference, at Cincinnati, upon "The Mission of Local History," and December 14 spoke to the Michigan State Historical and Pioneer Society at Ann Arbor, on the same topic. From December 27 to 31, he served as secretary to the general committee of arrangements for the meetings in Madison of the American Historical Association, American Economic Association, American Political Science Association, American Sociological Society, American Association for Labor Legislation, and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. On January 18 (1908), he lectured before the public school teachers of Grand Rapids (Mich.), on "George Rogers Clark and the Conquest of the Northwest." February 14, he read a paper on "Local Historical and Archæological Museums" before the joint meeting at Milwaukee of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, the Wisconsin Archæological Society, and other learned bodies of the State. April 16 and 17, he was in Washington, D. C., as a member of the American Historical Association's Committee of Seven on co-operation between historical societies. May 8, he lectured before the Evansville Historical Society on "The Black Hawk War." From June 22 to 27, he was, together with the librarian, the assistant librarian, and several other members of his staff, present at the Minnetonka conference of the American Library Association. On August 11, he "interviewed" the Hon. Jonathan H. Evans, at Platteville — a pioneer of that city since 1846, and one of the notable men of the Wisconsin lead region. He has also, within the year, delivered several lectures before the Wisconsin State Library School.

Auxiliary Societies

We present herewith the usual reports of such local historical societies in Wisconsin as have come into auxiliary relations with

the State society. It will be seen from these reports, that several of the local auxiliaries exhibit a very gratifying enterprise and progress. In each case, this is the result of close personal attention to the affairs of the society, on the part of some one individual or of a small group of persons strongly interested in the project. Without such keen personal activity back of it, no organization, whatever its purpose, can develop spirit and growth. A weak historical society, be it state or local, is not so much a reflection on the intelligence of the community as it is a distinct confession that the management of the organization has not yet been placed in proper hands.

Last spring, this Society offered to several of the local societies in the southeastern part of the State a series of three free lectures on historical subjects, provided that each local society met the travelling expenses of the lecturers. This was an experiment in the direction of assisting the several localities to retain popular interest in their organizations. Considerable correspondence ensued, but in the end only the Evansville society seemed able at that time to meet the conditions. Accordingly, the lectures were given in that village as follows:

May 1. Charles E. Brown, chief of the Museum department, on "Some Primitive Inventions."

May 8. Secretary Thwaites, on "The Black Hawk War."

May 15. A. B. Stout, of the State University, on "The Indian Mounds of Wisconsin."

If practicable, the experiment will be made elsewhere in Wisconsin during the coming winter.

American Material in French Archives

At the meeting in Washington, on April 16–17, of the Committee of Seven of the American Historical Association,[1] the discussion was chiefly confined to co-operation in searches for foreign material in which state and local historical societies would be interested, co-operation in copying such material as may be needed

[1] Dunbar Rowland, of Mississippi, chairman; J. Franklin Jameson, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington; Evarts B. Greene, of Illinois; Thomas M. Owen, of Alabama; Benjamin F. Shambaugh, of Iowa; R. G. Thwaites, of Wisconsin; and Worthington C. Ford, of the Library of Congress.

for publication, and co-operation in its publication. After careful consideration of these matters it was decided that co-operation in searching French archives up to 1763 (especially as regards the Mississippi Valley) was immediately possible, and steps were taken to carry forward such an enterprise provided a sufficient number of institutions agreed to meet the cost. It has recently been ascertained that a sufficient subscription can be obtained, and the work will probably be carried forward during the coming winter—possibly through the agency of the Bureau of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

The conference received a preliminary report from the Bureau's representative then in Paris, Mr. Waldo G. Leland. This so clearly states the situation relative to documentary material concerning the Mississippi Valley in the archives at that capital, that its publication here would seem desirable:

Notes on Material in the French Archives relating to the History of the Mississippi Valley.

These notes are in no sense an exhaustive survey of the documents in the French archives relating to the Mississippi Valley. They aim merely to point out some of the more conspicuous groups of such material in the hope of suggesting the desirability of securing transcripts of the documents, indicating what has already been done or is at present being done in this direction, and putting the question as to whether it is not possible to accomplish the task systematically.

The most conspicuous group of documents, undoubtedly the most important, and that which should receive first attention in any plan of transcription, is contained in the archives of the Ministry of the Colonies. This includes first of all a series of about fifty-five volumes and cartons of letters and documents emanating from the French officials in Louisiana and its dependent posts. The series extends from 1678 to about 1820, and is known as "Correspondance Générale," bearing the series number C [13]. A complete list of the volumes of the series is printed in *Publications* of Louisiana Historical Society, vol. ii, part 4, pp. 9–11. There exists in the Ministry a manuscript list of the separate documents in the first 35 volumes (i. e., to 1752); while Mr. Rowland has printed in the *Fifth Annual Report* of the Department of Archives and History of Mississippi, a list, prepared in the Ministry, of such documents in vols. i–xliii (1678–1763) as are thought to bear on the history of the territory included in the present State of Mississippi. Finally, in the manuscript *Catalogue-Index of Manuscripts in Foreign Archives*, prepared by Stevens and Brown, and recently purchased by the Library of Congress, is a list of the documents from 1763 to 1783, contained mostly in volumes xliii–l. So much for existing lists.

Some transcription has already been done. Volumes xlviii and xlix (1768–69) have been copied entire for the Louisiana Historical Society, and are now among its archives. It may be noted that they were copied under the auspices of the late Victor Tantet, and will consequently have to be collated with the originals before full faith and credit can be given to them.

Dr. Dunbar Rowland has commenced the transcription of most of the documents noted in his printed list, and at the present rate about eight volumes a year will be accessible in the Mississippi archives. But these are not of course complete transcriptions of entire volumes.

As to printed documents from this series, those in the last three volumes of Margry's collection constitute the most important, almost the only group. I have not mentioned the three volumes known as Margry MSS., nor the one volume of Magne MSS. in the Louisiana Historical Society. These are a mixture of abstracts, extracts, titles, and notes, drawn from this collection, but so uneven, confusing, often illegible, as hardly to count among the efforts to present this material to the American public.

The series just mentioned relates to the Mississippi Valley as far north as the central parts of Illinois and Indiana. The northern part of the valley was part of Canada, or New France, and the material relating to it, corresponding to the material just described, is to be found in the 223 volumes of "Correspondance Générale" for Canada and its dependencies, Series C [11]. All but a very few volumes of this series have been calendared, after a fashion, by Marmette and Richard, and the lists are printed in *Canadian Archives Reports*, 1885, 1886, 1887, and 1899. Most of this material has already been copied for the Canadian archives, and the transcripts are now in Ottawa. Unfortunately, the copying was done under the auspices of Victor Tantet, who would permit no testing of his work. At present, certain of the volumes are being re-collated, and it is probable that all will have to be. The Wisconsin Historical Society and the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, together with Margry, have printed the greater part of this material that relates to the upper Mississippi Valley. It does not need, therefore, to receive immediate attention in any scheme of transcription.

The series of "Correspondance Générale" relating to the French West Indies must eventually be searched, although it is not to be expected that many important documents relating to the Mississippi Valley will be found therein.

The series complementary to those of letters received from the colonies, is that of letters sent, known as "Despatches and Orders," Series B. It commences in 1663, and at first the letters relating to Louisiana are entered among those for other colonies. Later, however, they are grouped by themselves. A rough estimate gives about 5,000 pages of them. In the *Calendar of Series B*, by Richard, printed in *Canadian Archives Reports*, 1899, 1904, 1905, the Louisiana letters are listed, for the most part, through 1731. At present this series is being copied for the Canadian archives; and Louisiana letters, when mingled among Canadian letters, are being

included. Whether they will be copied in those volumes when they are grouped by themselves, has not been decided. Dr. Rowland is also having copied such of these letters as are judged by the official who prepared the list of documents relating to Mississippi in the "Correspondance Générale," to relate to that state.

In the series of "Royal Acts, Edicts, and Decrees" (Series A), two volumes covering the years 1712–54 are labelled *Louisianne.*

In the Collection Moreau St. Mery, a miscellaneous collection of copies, duplicates, and originals (Series F [3]), are two volumes of Louisiana documents, 1680–1806. An elaborate calendar by Richard is printed in *Canadian Archives Report*, 1899, pp. 447–481. Some of these documents duplicate material in Series C [13].

None of the volumes in the series of "Judicial Records," or "Greffes" (Series G [2]), or "Notarial Minutes" (G [3]), are labelled Louisiana. Of the Series of "Etat Civil" (G [1]), one volume relates to Louisiana (1720–34), and a copy of it is possessed by the Louisiana Historical Society, which has also two volumes of census returns, taken from the same series.

In Series D[2], relating to colonial troops, parts of at least six volumes deal with Louisiana; and in Series F, "Missions Religieuses," vol. iii, has Louisiana material, and has been copied for Ottawa.

Finally should be noted the maps and other documents in the Depot of Fortifications of the Colonies, a list of which is printed in *Canadian Archives Report*, 1905.

The foregoing survey has not exhausted the material in the Ministry of the Colonies bearing on the Mississippi Valley, but has at least indicated the most important and obvious sections of it.

In the archives of the Ministry of the Marine it is not probable that much is to be found bearing on the Mississippi Valley. In the most likely series (B[4]), being letters received from the fleets, six volumes are indicated in the *Inventaire Sommaire* as relative in part to Louisiana.

In the Ministry of War, I am confident that almost nothing is to be found; due to the fact that *troupes de la Marine* rather than *troupes de la Terre* (which latter were alone under the Minister of War) served in the colonies. I have already examined the volumes in the Ministry of War which should contain Louisiana material, if there was any, and have found barely a half-dozen documents.

In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs I have as yet examined only the three series of "Mémoires et Documents," labeled *Etats-Unis*, *Amérique*, and *Angleterre.* I have found about 150 memoirs or other documents relating in whole or in part, directly or indirectly, to the Mississippi Valley. In the series for *Espagne* should be found many more; while the "Correspondance Politique," that is the correspondence of the ministers of France in England, Spain, and the United States, is of course abundant in letters bearing on the history of the valley. The memoirs that I have already found are of all sorts—geographical, commercial, political, etc. There are numerous documents relating to Crozat's company, to the Mississippi Bubble, to exploration of the Western country, to plans for regaining

Louisiana after 1763, etc. Memoirs on the part that Louisiana could play in arranging the peace of 1763, are especially numerous. The problem in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs differs considerably from that in the Colonies, because here a thousand or more volumes must be carefully searched to locate the material scattered through them.

I cannot as yet speak from personal knowledge of the material in the Bibliothèque Nationale. A list of documents relating to America is printed in the *Canadian Archives Report*, 1905, but this is merely suggestive. What is intended as a complete list, involving the searching of several thousand volumes, has been nearly finished by Mr. Biggar and will be included in the *Guide* now being prepared by the Carnegie Institution. The most conspicuous collection of papers relating to the Mississippi Valley is that gathered by Margry; but the greater part of it consists of notes and indexes which are now useless—while of the documents, many are in print, and the others should not be copied if their originals can be located. The Clairambault collection contains many original documents, but has been exploited by Margry.

I am as yet unable to speak of the material in the Archives Nationales.

After the foregoing notes on certain groups of material, it remains to consider plans of making the documents accessible in the United States.

The difficulty at once apparent is, that there are a dozen or more societies, archives, or other institutions that desire transcripts—each having in mind a certain territory, the bounds of which did not exist in the days of the French regime. A single document frequently mentions all the posts on the Mississippi from the Belize to the Illinois. It is thus desired by several institutions. Other documents bear only on New Orleans, and are thus not wanted in Missouri.

Yet, if Missouri wishes to locate all documents relating to its history, it must make as exhaustive researches as though it desired everything relating to New Orleans. Granting that each state or society conducts its own investigations, the situation is, that the entire mass of material that I have indicated is gone through a dozen times, each time with a different aim. The result is, that there are gathered together in the United States a dozen different groups of transcripts, some containing documents not found in the others, but nearly all including much identical material. And after all this labor and expense, no one knows whether or not all of the material searched has finally been copied. The student of some general question concerning the entire valley, will fetch together a series of letters, the transcripts of which are scattered from New Orleans to Madison, and will not then be sure that he has found them all. He will eventually conclude that it would have been better to come to Paris in the first place.

It is probably impossible to agree upon some central depository of transcripts where the entire collection will be accessible, for there is no neutral territory in the Mississippi Valley. On the other hand, for each society or state to procure a complete set of transcripts is equally impossible. The only remaining expedient by which a systematic and complete

gleaning of these archives may be assured, is the preparation of a calendar. To do this would involve but one searching of the archives, and the results of that search would be equally accessible to all. I have not in mind such a calendar as that of the *British State Papers*, but a very summary affair which would give for each document its precise location, date, place of origin, writer, *destinateur*, title, and a *précis* in two or three lines of its contents, indicating particularly the places, tribes, or other local references. Such a calendar should be prepared by someone intimately acquainted with the history of the Mississippi Valley. He would be guided to the groups of material to be searched by the *Guide* now under preparation by the Carnegie Institution; in some cases he would find in this *Guide* detailed lists of documents which would save much work. He would further make all possible use of existing manuscript or printed lists. He would show, with regard to any particular document, if it had already been copied or printed (in which the complete lists of transcripts already prepared by the Carnegie Institution would aid him), and he would indicate the duplication of documents.

A list of this sort could probably be prepared within two years, at an expense of from $3,000 to $4,000. If ten agencies can co-operate to have it made, the expense of $300 to $400 for each would be equal to that of copying two or three volumes. If, after the preparation of the calendar, the agencies who desire transcripts can co-operate in the work of copying to the extent of having a single copying agency in Paris, each State or society indicating in the beginning, to that agency, the documents it desires, there will result an economy in copying equalling in some cases the cost of preparing the calendar. And then, after all the copying has been done, the student will be able to ascertain, through annotated copies of this calendar, just what documents have been copied, where the transcripts are to be found, and what remains in Paris uncopied.

PARIS, APRIL 7, 1808. W. G. LELAND.

Other Wisconsin Libraries

Our secretary being ex-officio a member of the Wisconsin Library Commission, some notice of the work of that body during the past year is appropriate in this connection.

For the first time in many years no new public library buildings are in course of construction within the State. With the exception of a half dozen cities, some of which have formally declined Carnegie gifts, such communities as are financially able adequately to maintain library buildings as separate institutions, are now provided. The past five years have constituted a period of active construction of such buildings; but it would seem that from now on, the money and energy hitherto expended in this direction will be utilized in strengthening these institutions by building up their

book collections and by employing adequate trained assistance. Buildings at Delavan, Elroy, Evansville, Stoughton, and Ladysmith were completed, dedicated, and occupied during the past twelve months. The question of soliciting a Carnegie gift for building purposes is being agitated both at Sturgeon Bay and at Merrill. At La Crosse a large addition to the Washburn Library building is nearing completion. There are now sixty-six public libraries in Wisconsin occupying buildings erected especially for them, and thirty-six others having quarters in city halls or other public buildings. Library buildings resulting from gifts or bequests of Wisconsin citizens, are the following:

Beaver Dam — $25,000 from J. J. Williams.
Delavan — $15,000 from Aram estate.
Evansville — $10,000 from A. Eager.
Janesville — $10,000 from Eldred estate, in addition to a Carnegie gift.
Kenosha — $150,000 from Z. G. Simmons.
La Crosse — $17,500 from C. C. Washburn, and $25,000 from five citizens whose names are not made public.
Lake Geneva — $7,000 from Mrs. George Sturges.
Lake Mills — $8,000 from L. D. Fargo.
Marinette — $30,000 from Isaac Stephenson.
Menasha — $20,000 from E. D. Smith.
Menomonie — $125,000 from Andrew Tainter.
Monroe — $12,500 from H. E. and W. Ludlow.
Mosinee — $5,000 from Joseph Dessert.
Neenah — $15,000 from citizens, in addition to a Carnegie gift.
Oconomowoc — $4,500 from residents.
Oconto — $15,000 from George Farnsworth.
Oshkosh — $55,000 from Philetus Sawyer and Harris estate.
Stanley — $15,000 from Mrs. Sally F. Moon.
Two Rivers — $4,000 from citizens.
Waukesha — $3,000 in addition to a Carnegie gift.
Waupun — $1,000 from Beach estate, in addition to a Carnegie gift.
Wausau — $10,000 from citizens, in addition to a Carnegie gift.
Wausaukee — $4,500 from H. P. Bird.
Wauwatosa — $5,000 from citizens, in addition to a Carnegie gift.
Whitewater — $15,000 from Flavia White.

New libraries established in the past year are the following: Bloomington, Boscobel, Burlington, Independence, Jefferson, Milton Junction, Prairie du Chien, and Williams Bay. Most of these are on a modest scale, having been made possible through a new plan inaugurated by the commission, whereby small libraries are enabled to secure new books at intervals, by a system of exchange

arranged by the commission. The installation of a library in the city hall of Prairie du Chien now leaves in this State no community, with a population in excess of 1,800, unprovided with public library facilities.

The Wisconsin Library School, maintained by the commission, has begun its third year of active usefulness, the maximum number of students being enrolled. A new feature that promises excellent results is the establishment of a course carried on jointly with the University of Wisconsin, whereby members of the junior and senior classes of the latter are permitted to attend the Library School, receiving credit towards their degrees for work done there. Students are thus enabled to complete the Library School course in the senior year. During the freshman and sophomore years, students follow the regular college courses.

Archæological Work in Wisconsin

In the two last reports we referred to the growth and prospects of the Wisconsin Archæological Society, and the desirability of a closer connection between the two organizations. This was effected in February last, through the engagement by this Society of the services of Mr. Charles E. Brown, secretary of the Archæological Society, as chief of our Museum department. Mr. Brown will hereafter give one-third of his time to the Archæological Society and two-thirds to us. In view of this new relationship, for the carrying on of such interests as we have in common, it is appropriate that our report cover briefly the year's progress of archæology in Wisconsin — deferring to a later page a specific account of the Museum.

On February 13 and 14, a union meeting of the Wisconsin Archæological Society, the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, and other Wisconsin scientific societies was held at Milwaukee. The programme included papers on various archæological and kindred subjects presented by George A. West, Dr. Frederick Starr, Dr. George L. Collie, A. B. Stout, Harlan I. Smith, Publius V. Lawson, George H. Squier, Herbert C. Fish, C. H. Robinson, Prof. Warren K. Moorehead, Dr. W. G. McLachlan, Mr. Brown, and the superintendent of our Society.

On Saturday, June 13, a pilgrimage of the Milwaukee and Waukesha County archæologists was conducted to the site of the Regula

To commemorate old Fort Atkinson

Monument unveiled by Fort Atkinson Chapter, D. A. R., June 1, 1908, bearing inscription: "Near this spot General Atkinson built a stockade in the Black Hawk War in 1832."

To commemorate the Man Mound, near Baraboo

Unveiled by Wisconsin Archæological Society and Sauk County Historical Society, August 7, 1908

group of Indian mounds at Summit, in Waukesha County. This fine group of effigy and other mounds is being preserved by its owner, Mr. Frederick Pabst.

On August 7 and 8, a joint State assembly of the Archæological Society and the Sauk County Historical Society was held at Baraboo for the purpose of dedicating Man Mound Park, within whose limits are included the man mound, in some respects the most interesting and widely known of Wisconsin's imitative earthworks. This property was purchased on October 12, 1907, by means of subscriptions raised among members of the two organizations named, and the additional contributions of certain organizations within the Wisconsin Federation of Women's Clubs. In the addresses and dedication exercises at the park, Mr. William H. Canfield, Mrs. Clara T. Runge, Miss Portia Martin, Miss Mary L. Van Orden, A. B. Stout, Hon. John M. True, and Mr. Brown participated, about two hundred and fifty persons from all parts of the State being present during the ceremonies. An artistic bronze tablet, presented by Mr. Jacob Van Orden of Baraboo, was unveiled, thus commemorating the purchase and preservation of this famous mound, which is now included in a small public park owned jointly by the Wisconsin Archæological Society and the Sauk County Historical Society. Mr. Harry E. Cole of Baraboo is chairman of the joint committee having in charge its care and improvement. On the day following the dedication, a pilgrimage was made to the groups of Indian mounds about Devils Lake, and to the grounds of the Sauk County Old Settlers' Association.

At the request of archæologists, two fine effigy mounds on Observatory Hill, University of Wisconsin campus, have been marked with signs bearing appropriate explanatory legends. A bird effigy, located on the property of the Dominican Sisters at Edgewood, near Madison, has also been saved from impending destruction and is now enclosed in a small private park. A promise of the preservation of a number of other interesting earthworks on the same grounds has also been secured. The Madison Park and Pleasure Drive Association has likewise consented to mark a series of conical mounds located on its drive on the shores of Lake Wingra, and to restore to their original beauty several of a group of mounds of the same character located on Farwell Point. Assurance has been received of protection against mutilation of certain mounds on the State Insane Hospital grounds, at Mendota.

Should the State succeed in acquiring the Robert Glenn tract of land in Grant County, at the junction of Wisconsin and Mississippi rivers, there would thereby be preserved extensive groups of interesting earthworks located thereon.

Messrs. Stout and Brown have continued, as opportunity permitted, the making of accurate surveys of the numerous mound groups and early Indian village and workshop sites about the Madison lakes. With the assistance of others, additional surveys and investigations have been conducted chiefly in Waukesha, Calumet, Manitowoc, and other counties. A lack of research funds has prevented a wider extension of this desirable work.

Local History Story Hour Experiment

A year ago we gave an account of the very interesting experiment, made at our suggestion in the winter of 1906–07, at the Kellogg Public Library, of Green Bay, in the matter of introducing local-history tales during some of the children's story hours. It will be remembered that under the direction of Miss Deborah Beaumont Martin, the librarian, Mrs. Frederick N. Brett was highly successful in interesting the children in tales of the early West, with especial reference to Green Bay. The Society's bulletin on this subject has been much in demand, and the custom has since been introduced in several other cities of the country. Being requested for a report upon her experience in carrying on the stories through the second winter (February and March, 1908)—the test of the idea—Miss Martin writes:

The children's story hour for 1908 was begun on Saturday, January 4, Miss Nellie McGrath telling "How stories were first told." This included a short sketch of Homer, and the "Voyages of Ulysses." Number present, 56.

January 11. Mrs. Brett again took charge of her subject, "How old-time myths still influence modern life," as in the names of the months. She told the calendar stories for January, February, and March. Number present, 62.

January 18. Mrs. Brett continued her calendar stories for April, May, and June, associating history with mythology. Number present, 71.

January 25. Mrs. Brett's calendar stories for July, August, and September, bringing in the life of Julius Cæsar. Number present, 60.

February 1. Stories of October, November, and December were told. Number present, 35. Mrs. Brett now asked the children present whether she should continue the myths, as she had come to the end of the calendar stories, or should give them the stories of Indians, and the early times

in our country, as she had done the winter before. With one voice, her auditors clamored for "Indians!" Accordingly we began with our former outline,[1] changing it, however, as the season went on, as follows:

February 8. Pocahontas and Captain John Smith. This story is always admired by the children. Number present, 158.

February 15. Myles Standish and King Philip. Number present, 135.

February 22. Washington's birthday. Story of his early life, bringing in Braddock's defeat, wherein Langlade of Wisconsin figured. Number present, 122.

February 29. Champlain, the great governor of New France. The coming of Jean Nicolet to Green Bay (1634). Number present, 130.

March 7. The fur-traders, Radisson and Groseilliers, and their adventures. How the Jesuit priests, Allouez and others, came to Green Bay. Number present, 113.

March 14. Tonty, the "man with the copper hand," and La Salle. Story of Red Banks. Number present, 129.

March 21. Charles de Langlade, of Wisconsin, the great warrior. Number present, 120.

March 28. Pontiac and the siege of Detroit. Lieutenant Gorrell at Green Bay. Number present, 131.

All the above stories, except the first, were told by Mrs. Brett.

The Museum

For many years past it has been the desire of the superintendent to erect the Museum into a department, with a chief in charge, in the same manner as, since coming into the new building (1900), are now organized the departments of cataloguing, maps and manuscripts, public documents, and newspaper files. This project was, however, not made possible until February last, when, as already reported, an arrangement was made to secure the services, in part, of Mr. Charles E. Brown. An office has been set aside for him, upon the Museum floor, and in consequence of his personal attention this feature of the work has already been much improved at many points.

The classification and rearrangement of the collections of the various departments of the Museum has been steadily progressing during the past eight months. A new system of accessioning specimens has also been adopted, and work on these records begun. The anthropological collections have been entirely remodeled, and their value to visitors increased by the addition of improved descriptive labels, photographs, and maps. As will be

[1] Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1907, p. 49.

seen upon examination of the list of Museum accessions, the collections in this field have been nearly doubled in extent, over former years. The hall at present devoted to anthropology having now been filled to its capacity, it has become necessary to place some materials belonging to this department in the adjoining South Hall.

The collection illustrating the period of the Wisconsin fur-trade has been rendered more instructive by the addition of a number of specimens.

The room devoted to military history has been partly rearranged. Important additions to this department are now awaited.

At regular intervals changes have been made in the character of the exhibits in the manuscript room, the present installations including a collection of Thanksgiving proclamations of War of Secession governors; a series illustrating the evolution of the newspaper; a collection of newspapers of the American Colonial and Revolutionary periods; and specimens of early printing.

During the winter of 1907–08, several interesting art exhibits were made in the Museum under the direction of the Madison Art Association. From July to October, there were exhibited by ourselves, in North Hall, a highly attractive collection of two hundred and fifty large-size photographs of North American Indians, by Edward S. Curtis. An illustrated catalogue thereof was printed by us, and copies circulated among visitors to the Museum.

A novel and interesting feature of this year's Museum display, are the bulletins. Upon large wooden screens, with burlapped surfaces, were exhibited series of photographs, drawings, and other illustrations, accompanied by explanatory labels. The following historical and anthropological subjects have thus been treated for the instruction of the public: "The Making of Fire," "The Plains Tribes," "The Archæological Features of Wisconsin," "The New York Iroquois," "The Earthenware of the Wisconsin Indians," "Mexico," "The Yaqui Indians," "Central California Antiquities," "The Winnebago Tribe," and "The Indian Mounds of Lake Koshkonong." The loan of several of these bulletins has been requested by public libraries in Wisconsin and elsewhere.

During July the Museum chief made a visit to the Flambeau Indian reservation, returning with some specimens for the Chippewa Indian collection; he likewise prepared the way for the acquirement of others. He has also made frequent trips about the Madi-

son lakes, for the purpose of assembling archæological and historical materials. Talks have been given by him in the Museum to several public school and University summer session classes.

Since last year the walls of the Museum have been planked, and covered with burlap in agreeable neutral tints. This has effected a noticeable improvement in their appearance, and provided a more suitable background for the display of portraits and paintings.

Several reading tables, furnished with helpful and instructive literature, have been placed in the halls, and are in constant use by students and visitors.

Early in the year, a leaflet explaining the educational work of the Museum and its needs, was widely circulated among persons in a position to assist in its progress. To this appeal many responses have already been received, chiefly in the nature of gifts or deposits of desirable specimens and of collections. Effective personal appeals have also been made to many Wisconsin citizens.

Doctor Draper's Grave

At the annual meeting of this committee held November 7, 1907, there was appointed a sub-committee consisting of Messrs. W. A. P. Morris, E. W. Keyes, and N. B. Van Slyke, to "place corner stones and grave-markers in and upon the Lyman C. Draper burial lot in Forest Hill Cemetery in the city of Madison," at a charge of not over $400, to be met by an appropriation for that purpose made from the income of the Draper Fund for the year ending June 30, 1908.[1] The committee were also authorized to deposit $100 with the Forest Hill Cemetery Commissioners as a fund for the perpetual care of said lot.

The sub-committee satisfactorily complied with the directions of the executive committee, and upon the conclusion of their task rendered the following report, under date of August 3, 1908:

> The special committee of the Society charged with the duty of depositing $100 with the Forest Hill Cemetery Commissioners for the perpetual care of the Draper burial lot, wherein are interred the remains of Dr. Draper, his first wife, and their adopted daughter, and to place upon said lot four corner stones and three markers, respectfully report that the duty imposed upon them has been performed, and that the amount expended in addition to the $100 deposited with the Forest Hill Cemetery Commissioners is the sum of $250.

[1] Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1907, p. 20.

The lettering upon the several markers indicating the graves of Doctor Draper and his first wife (the second Mrs. Draper died and was buried at Cheyenne, Wyoming), and of their adopted daughter Lydia, as is follows:

Lyman Copeland Draper
B. Erie County, N. Y., September 4, 1815
D. Madison, August 15, 1891

Lydia Chadwick Draper
B. Queensbury, N. Y., May 2, 1811
D. Madison, May 23, 1888

Lydia C. Draper
D. October 7, 1864, Æt 17 yrs.

Building Improvements

It will be remembered that the board of commissioners for erecting the State Historical Library Building returned to the State treasury an unexpended balance of $11,020.06. This amount had been set aside by the board for the purpose of coloring the walls of the building and applying another two coats of paint to the woodwork. For various reasons—waiting for the walls to dry out before applying colors to the plaster, and a hope for the early construction of the northwest wing, being the chief causes of delay—the money was not spent as soon after the completion of the building as the attorney-general decided that it should have been; hence the return of the balance to the treasury, and the winding up of the affairs of the board.

The legislature of 1907 voted (chapter 535) to return this money to the Society itself, to be used in the latter's discretion either for the original purpose or for "making such alterations and permanent improvements in the State Historical Library Building as will add to its book-storage capacity." At its meeting on November 7, 1907, the executive committee appointed Messrs. W. F. Vilas, L. S. Hanks, G. B. Burrows, R. G. Thwaites, and I. S. Bradley a sub-committee with full authority to carry out such improvements as were permissible under the law. The committee organized by the election of Colonel Vilas as chairman and Mr. Bradley as secretary.

On November 21, bids were opened for painting and otherwise improving the halls of the Museum, the contract therefor being let to Mautz Brothers of Madison for $1,686.95. The planking of the Museum walls had previously been paid for out of the Society's funds. The contract called for applying burlap to these walls, and painting the ceilings and woodwork, a work satisfactorily performed, to the great improvement of rooms that are visited annually by some eighty thousand citizens of the State.

On December 5, bids were opened for the construction of mezzanine floors of steel and glass, to be placed in the manuscript, newspaper consultation, and catalogue rooms, with a view to doubling the storage capacity of those much overcrowded departments. The contract was let to the Library Bureau of Chicago for $3,503.50, and the result is a permanent improvement of much value.

On June 19, bids were opened for applying two coats of paint to all interior woodwork now painted white, outside of the Museum halls. The contract was let for $742 to Klein Brothers of Madison, and this work is now approaching completion.

On July 15–16, bids were opened for supplying special furniture (book-cases, catalogue cases, and tables) for the mezzanine floors. A portion of the contract was awarded to J. H. Findorff of Madison for $1,900 and another to the Library Bureau for $3,100. Owing to the high prices of such furniture, somewhat less than two-thirds of that actually needed for the floors could be obtained from the balance now remaining at the disposition of the committee. The bids submitted were of a complicated character, rendering it an especially difficult task to make an effective selection of such furniture as was within the means of the committee. The doing of this, together with a proper apportionment of these selections among competing firms, required two long and strenuous sessions, during which Chairman Vilas displayed to a high degree those remarkable qualities that made him an invaluable building commissioner both for this Library and the new State Capitol. This was his last service for the Society, for three days after the concluding session he was stricken with the disease that ended in his untimely death.

The Northwest Wing

Such of the foregoing permanent improvements as make for larger book-storage capacity are in every way admirable. But they will furnish only slight and temporary alleviation of the present pressure for space. With the rapid and constant growth of the two libraries installed in this building, the northwest wing is sadly needed. Every department is crowded, and despite frequent shifting of books in every class we no longer know where to place recent accessions. It is most sincerely to be hoped that the legislature of 1909 may come to our rescue, and save us from seeking outside storage.

On behalf of the Executive Committee,

Reuben G. Thwaites,
Secretary and Superintendent.

Treasurer's Report

Inventory, July 1, 1908

Cash		$2,251 65
Mortgages		53,200 00
Real estate		1,765 40
		$57,217 05
Belonging as follows:		
Binding fund	$30,459 04	
Antiquarian fund	10,520 90	
Draper fund	11,017 24	
General fund	355 99	
Mary M. Adams Art Fund	4,851 47	
Entertainment fund	12 41	
		$57,217 05

Cash

Treasurer, Dr.				
July	1, 1907	Balance on hand	$2,397 84	
Oct.	22, 1907	Mortgage paid	1,500 00	
Dec.	20, 1907	Mortgage paid	500 00	
Feb.	19, 1908	Mortgage paid	6,300 00	
		Gift from entertainment committee, social science meetings	3 00	
		Entertainment fund	14 45	
		Interest as per schedule	2,628 83	
		Sale of Draper duplicates	85 17	
		Life membership fees	200 00	
		Sale of ordinary duplicates	247 42	
		Dues of Annual Members	828 00	
				$14,704 71
Treasurer, Cr.				
July	31, 1907	L. C. Burke, library services	$7 50	
Nov.	1, 1907	Louise P. Kellogg, calendaring MSS.	75 00	
Nov.	6, 1907	Loan	4,000 00	
Nov.	14, 1907	Expenses making loan	3 00	
Dec.	27, 1907	Premium on surety bond	3 00	

Feb. 17, 1908	Loan	6,000 00	
	Expenses making loan	1 00	
May 1, 1908	Taxes, St. Paul realty	44 89	
	Mary M. Adams Art Fund expenditures	160 03	
	Entertainment Fund expend.	8 64	
	R. G. Thwaites, salary as superintendent	1,200 00	
	L. S. Hanks, salary as treasurer	150 00	
	I. S. Bradley, salary as assistant superintendent	400 00	
	General Fund expenditures	400 00	
July 1, 1908	Balance on hand	2,251 65	
			$14,704 71

Mary M. Adams Art Fund

Treasurer, Dr.			
July 1, 1907	Balance	$4,782 70	
June 30, 1908	Interest apportioned	228 80	
			$5,011 50
Treasurer, Cr.			
Dec. 27, 1907	Madison Art Association, for Signa ware for Museum	$70 00	
Jan. 7, 1908	Customs duty on same	15 78	
31, 1908	Signa ware, additional purchases	13 00	
June 22, 1908	C. H. E. Boughton, lettering portraits	61 25	
	Balance	4,851 47	
			$5,011 50

Entertainment Fund

Treasurer, Dr.			
July 1, 1907	Balance	$6 60	
Nov. 12, 1907	Receipts	14 45	
			$21 05
Treasurer, Cr.			
Feb. 12, 1908	Expenses	$8 64	
	Balance	12 41	
			$21 05

Antiquarian Fund Income

Treasurer, Dr.			
	½ Life Membership fees	$100 00	
	½ Sale of duplicates	123 73	
	½ Dues of Annual Members	414 00	
	Gift from entertainment committee, social science meetings	1 50	
	Interest	453 01	
			$1,092 24

Treasurer's Report

Antiquarian Fund

July 1, 1907	Balance		$9,428 66
	From income account		1,092 24
July 1, 1908	New balance		$10,520 90

Draper Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

July 1, 1907	Balance	$10,886 04	
	Sale of duplicates	85 17	
	Interest	521 03	
			$11,492 24

Treasurer, Cr.

Nov. 1, 1907	L. P. Kellogg, calendaring MSS.	$75 00	
Mar. 31, 1908	Democrat Printing Co., share of publishing Draper vol. 2	50 00	
June 22, 1908	City of Madison in trust for perpetual care of Draper lot	100 00	
	F. M. Schlimgen, for markers and corner stones for Draper burial lot, Madison	250 00	
	Balance	11,017 24	
			$11,492 24

General Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

July 1, 1907	Balance	$769 47	
			$769 47

Treasurer, Cr.

	L. S. Hanks, salary as treasurer	$50 00	
	L. C. Burke, library services	7 50	
	½ balance transferred to Binding Fund	355 98	
	Balance	355 99	
			$769 47

Binding Fund Income

Treasurer, Dr.

½ Life Membership fees	$100 00	
½ Sale of duplicates	123 69	
½ Dues of Annual Members	414 00	
Gift from entertainment committee, social science meetings	1 50	
½ General Fund	355 98	
Interest	1,425 99	
		$2,421 16

Treasurer, Cr.

R. G. Thwaites, salary as supt.	$1,200 00	
I. S. Bradley, salary as asst. supt.	400 00	
L. S. Hanks, salary as treasurer	100 00	
Miscellaneous expenses	7 00	
Taxes on St. Paul property	44 89	
Balance transferred to Binding Fund	669 27	
		$2,421 16

Binding Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

July 1, 1907	Balance	$29,789 77	
	Transferred from income account	669 27	
July 1, 1908	New balance		$30,459 04

The foregoing statement examined and found correct

W. A. P. Morris
Charles N. Brown
J. Howard Palmer
Finance Committee.

We, the undersigned Auditing Committee, certify that we have examined the books and vouchers exhibited to us by L. S. Hanks, treasurer, and find a voucher for each disbursement, as entered in journal; that all entries have been properly transferred to ledger; that the ledger is properly balanced, and balances carried forward, and that the preceding abstract of accounts is a correct statement.

E. B. Steensland
A. E. Proudfit
A. B. Morris.

Secretary's Fiscal Report

To the Executive Committee, State Historical Society of Wisconsin — During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1908, the State appropriated to the Society, directly, $24,861.02 — $19.861.02 under section 2, chapter 533, Laws of 1907, and $5,000 under section 3 of said chapter; to which should be added $315.14 received from the Regents of the University of Wisconsin, on balancing joint maintenance account — thus making total receipts of $25,176.16. Disbursements from these appropriations were made upon warrant of the undersigned, audited by the secretary of state, and paid by the state treasurer. According to the books of the secretary of state, verified by our own, the Society's account with the State stood as follows upon July 1, 1908:

Section 2, chapter 533, Laws of 1907

1907.		
July 1.	Unexpended balance in State treasury	$98 00
	State appropriation	19,861 02
	From U. W. Regents (rebate)	315 14
		$20,274 16
	Disbursements during year ending June 30, 1908, as per appended list	$19,958 22
1908.		
July 1.	Unexpended balance in State treasury	$315 94

Section 3, chapter 533, Laws of 1907

1907.		
July 1.	Unexpended balance in State treasury	$1 73
	State appropriation	5,000 00
		$5,001 73
	Disbursements during year ending June 30, 1908, as per appended list	$5,001 75
	Overdrawn (through clerical error)	$ 02

Orders drawn during fiscal year ending June 30, 1908, in accordance with section 2, chapter 533, Laws of 1907.

Edna C. Adams, general assistant	$630 00
Alford Brothers, Madison, towel supply	96 00
Harriet L. Allen, general assistant	459 23
Elizabeth Alsheimer, housemaid	380 77
A. H. Andrews Co., Chicago, chairs	91 65
Art Metal Construction Co., Jamestown, N. Y., floor glass	86 64
Marion J. Atwood, student assistant	248 98
Daisy G. Beecroft, superintendent's clerk	721 32
L. J. Beecroft, indexing, etc.	199 26
Mrs. C. W. Billig, extra house cleaner	1 25
George Bogart, Madison, repairing chairs	69 45
John Bohrmt, Madison, masonry repairs	192 60
Charles E. Brown, Museum chief and travelling expenses	427 62
Chris. H. Brown, Madison, carpenter repairs in Museum	243 60
Peter Burger, snow shovels	2 00
L. C. Burke, general assistant	17 00
Bennie Butts, office messenger	594 00
Capital City Paper Co., Madison, supplies	55 00
Chicago & Northwestern Ry. Co., Madison, freight	39 16
Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Ry. Co., Madison, freight	60 90
Conklin & Sons, Madison, ice (16 mos.)	118 55
C. F. Cooley, Madison, cement, etc.	55 76
B. C. Crowe, Madison, supplies	8 48
Cudahy Packing Co., Omaha, Nebr., soap powder	36 00
Electrical Supply Co., Madison, supplies	20 37
Enos Co., New York City, electric light globes	21 75
Fairbanks, Morse & Co., Chicago, steam-fitting supplies	3 48
Raymond Fellows, check room attendant	66 20
Ferris & Ferris, Madison, drayage	22 25
Marshall Field & Co., Chicago, wire door-mats	19 60
Aleck J. Fish, check room attendant	37 38
Anna Flad, check room attendant	79 82
Mary S. Foster, reading room chief	900 00
W. J. Gamm, Madison, clock repairs	9 00
Henry C. Gerling, Madison, drayage	3 00
Alexander Gill & Co., Madison, repairs to roof	40 50
Gimbel Brothers, Milwaukee, rubber matting, etc.	28 96
Phillip Gross Hardware Co., Milwaukee, supplies	73 25
Tillie Gunkel, housekeeper	472 42
Clarence S. Hean, newspaper room chief	720 00
Emma Isabel Hean, student assistant	300 00
Illinois Central Ry. Co., Madison, freight	102 85
Illinois Electric Co., Chicago, supplies	4 80
Anna Jacobsen, cataloguer	450 62
Karl Jacobsen, cataloguer	45 00

Johnson Service Co., Milwaukee, heating and ventilating supplies	20 70
William G. Johnston & Co., Pittsburgh, magazine folders	25 70
Charles Kehoe, night watch	281 00
Louise P. Kellogg, editorial assistant	818 84
William Keyes, Madison, sand and gravel	35 10
Kate Lewis, cataloguer	578 97
Library Bureau, Chicago, supplies	2 50
Ceylon C. Lincoln, janitor and general mechanic	720 00
Adolph Link, extra house cleaner	15 00
Leo P. Link, elevator attendant	165 38
C. J. Loomer, general assistant	150 72
Geneva Luming, extra house cleaner	25 00
A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, waste baskets	7 55
Madison Gas and Electric Co., lamps	51 60
City Treasurer, Madison, water and sprinkling taxes	35 78
C. J. Mahaney, Madison, drayage	6 75
May Manson, extra house cleaner	21 00
Anna Mausbach, housemaid	376 24
Mautz Brothers, Madison, painting supplies	31 65
M. H. Morhoff, extra house cleaner	24 75
Carl Nelson, labor	145 23
Gertrude Nelson, housemaid	340 00
Magnus Nelson, head janitor and general mechanic	840 00
New York Store, Madison, cleaners' supplies	15 29
Richard G. Norton, Madison, clock repairs	2 50
Annie A. Nunns, superintendent's secretary	1,205 70
L. L. Oeland, Madison, freight and crating for Museum	5 00
Oppel's Fancy Grocery, Madison, furniture oil	1 75
Otis Elevator Co., Chicago, safety plug	6 05
William Owens, Madison, plumbing supplies and services	62 28
Eve Parkinson, periodical room chief	720 00
Piper Brothers, Madison, cleaners' supplies	18 65
Clara A. Richards, general assistant	570 00
Theo. B. Robertson Soap Co., Chicago, soap	3 50
Irving Robson, janitor and general mechanic	549 20
Elizabeth Schmelzer, housemaid	374 96
Mrs. Herman Schumann, extra house cleaner	25 00
Standard Oil Co., Milwaukee, oils	7 49
A. B. Stout, Madison, travelling expenses	5 00
Sumner & Morris, Madison, hardware	59 34
Edna Teude, housemaid	16 25
R. G. Thwaites, official disbursement for supplies, travel, etc.	117 73
Asa C. Tilton, document and manuscript room chief	1,163 82
Trans-Continental Freight Co., Chicago, freight	1 97
Clay Turner, elevator attendant	146 52
Nelia Warnecke, cloak room attendant	249 48

Wisconsin University, Board of Regents of, balance on joint account for maintenance of building	1,339 01
Yawkey-Crowley Lumber Co., Madison, supplies	315 80
	$19,958 22

Orders drawn during fiscal year ending June 30, 1908, in accordance with section 3, chapter 533, Laws of 1907:

William Abbatt, New York City, books	$7 50
William Charles Adams, Jamaica Plains, Mass., books	5 29
W. F. Adams, Springfield, Mass., books	17 94
American Bureau of Industrial Research, Madison, books	20 50
American Historical Association, New York City, publications	3 00
American Library Association, Boston, publications	4 00
American Library Association, Publishing Board, Boston, catalogue cards	6 76
Americus Book Co., Americus, Ga., books	3 00
C. C. Andrews, St. Paul, newspapers	50 00
J. B. Andrews, Madison, books	2 79
Robert Appleton Co., New York City	12 00
George Barrie & Sons, Philadelphia, books	15 00
F. A. Battey, Chicago, books	25 00
Bibliographical Society of America, Chicago, publications	3 00
W. W. Blake, Mexico City, Mexico, book	7 25
Miss J. K. Bloomfield, Oswego, N. Y., book	2 50
Boston Book Co., Boston, periodicals and books	55 25
Miss Emma E. Brigham, Boston, book	10 00
Benjamin M. Brink, Kingston, N. Y., books	6 00
L. C. Burke, Madison, photographs	2 00
Burrows Brothers Co., Cleveland, books	8 10
Don C. Cameron, Washington, D. C., books	3 50
William J. Campbell, Philadelphia, books	4 50
The Carswell Co., Ltd., Toronto, books	165 10
C. N. Caspar Co., Milwaukee, books	5 00
A. H. Clark Co., Cleveland, books	208 00
A. S. Clark, Peekskill, N. Y., books	4 50
Edward A. Claypool, Chicago, books	23 80
Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, transcription of Mss.	10 00
Club of Odd Volumes, Boston, book	20 00
William E. Connelley, Topeka, Kans., book	2 50
Mrs. Jane B. Cotton, Boston, book	3 00
J. N. Davidson, Dartford, books	5 00
The De Burians, Bangor, Maine, book	3 15
Dixie Book Shop, New York City, books	10 00
Dodd, Mead & Co., New York City, books	175 00
R. R. Donnelley & Sons Co., Chicago, books	10 00
W. H. Dudley, Madison, photographs	1 25

E. P. Dutton & Co., New York City, books	126 75
Edward B. Eaton, Hartford, Conn., books	3 00
Egypt Exploration Fund, Boston, books	10 00
Charles Evans, Chicago, books	15 00
Ferris & Leach, Philadelphia, books	2 50
Mrs. E. M. S. Fite, New York City, book	5 00
Foster Brothers, Boston, pictures	20 00
A. J. Fretz, Milton, N. J., books	17 00
Genealogical Association, New York City, books	9 85
Goodpasture Book Co., Nashville, Tenn., books	3 75
Goodspeed's Book Shop, Boston, books	14 00
F. P. & L. C. Harper, New York City, books	22 50
Harrison Co., Atlanta, Ga., books	10 50
John Hart, Richmond, Va., books	179 25
Huguenot Society of America, New York City, books	4 95
H. R. Huntting & Co., Springfield, Mass., books	3 00
Hall N. Jackson, Cincinnati, books	41 00
George N. Kreider, Springfield, Ill., books	5 00
N. M. Ladd Co., Brooklyn, N. Y., books	3 25
C. F. Libbie & Co., Boston, books	281 80
Crawford Lindsay, Quebec, translating documents	142 38
George E. Littlefield, Boston, books	190 57
A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books	444 46
W. H. Marcy, Minneapolis, books	36 00
Meyer News Service Co., Milwaukee, clippings	35 70
Midland Publishing Co., Madison, books	4 80
Modern Mexico, Mexico City, Mexico, periodical	2 55
W. H. Moore, Brockport, N. Y., periodicals	358 40
Noah F. Morrison, Elizabeth, N. J., books	98 43
H. S. Mott, New York City, books	10 00
Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany, N. Y., books	122 34
E. C. Nielson, Madison, photographs	28 00
G. A. Ogle & Co., Chicago, books	7 50
H. A. O'Leary, Brooklyn, N. Y., books	3 15
Oregon Historical Society, Portland, books	5 00
D. L. Passavant, Zelienople, Pa., books	66 40
Colonial Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, book	5 00
Pennsylvania Society, Sons of American Revolution, Philadelphia, book	10 00
Pennsylvania-German Society, Lebanon, Pa., book	5 00
Edward Polak, New York City, books	13 00
Charles T. Powner, Chicago, books	30 45
Preston & Rounds, Providence, R. I., books	4 00
Raoul Renault, Quebec, books	15 34
G. T. Ridlon Sr., Cornish, Maine, books	5 00
Rosenbach Co., Philadelphia, books	60 00
James S. Rusling, Trenton, N. J., books	3 00
C. C. Saffell, Baltimore, books	34 00

I. D. Seabrook, Charleston, S. C., books	63 90
James Shepard, New Britain, Conn., books	6 00
Harry Simmons, Albany, N. Y., books	2 50
Charles N. Sinnett, Edmore, N. Dak., books	8 00
Robert Smith Printing Co., Lansing, Mich., books	2 50
W. M. Smith, Madison, books	7 00
Henry Sotheran & Co., London, books	338 80
Southern Book Exchange, Raleigh, N. C., books	12 50
G. E. Stechert & Co., New York City, books	824 61
Monroe Stevens, De Lamar, Idaho, newspapers	133 50
R. G. Thwaites, secretary, official disbursements for books (small bills)	68 38
Tice & Lynch, New York City, agents for M. Nijhoff, books	8 30
Tice & Lynch, New York City, agents for B. F. Stevens & Brown, books	5 15
C. L. Traver, Trenton, N. J., books	6 90
Secretary of Commonwealth, Richmond, Va., books	20 00
Edwin C. Walker, New York City, books	5 68
Stephen B. Weeks, Trinity, N. C., books	8 00
H. W. Wilson Co., Minneapolis, books	11 00
Miss Mary Woodward, Jersey City Heights, N. J., books	9 00
Miss Laura A. Young, Montreal, manuscripts	20 28
	$5,001 75

Respectfully submitted,

REUBEN G. THWAITES,

Secretary and Superintendent.

Givers of Books and Pamphlets

[Including duplicates]

Givers	Books	Pamphlets
Adams County Board of Supervisors	. .	21
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Education Department, Montgomery	. .	1
State Federation of Labor, Montgomery	. .	2
Alaska Interior Department, Juneau	. .	1
Albany (N. Y.) Superintendent of Schools	. .	2
Allegheny (Pa.) Superintendent of Schools	. .	1
Allen, Miss Harriet, Madison	5	. .
Allen, Mrs. W. F., Madison	3	. .
Alvord, Clarence W., Urbana, Ill.	. .	2
American Anti-Boycott Association	. .	2
Railways Company, Philadelphia	. .	1
Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.	. .	2
Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston	. .	1
Bureau of Industrial Research, Madison	63	1,326
Chamber of Commerce, Paris	. .	27
Congregational Association, Boston	. .	1
Historical Association, Washington	2	. .
Irish Historical Society, Boston	1	. .
Museum of Natural History, N. Y. C.	1	2
Protective Tariff League, N. Y. C.	. .	1
Seamen's Friend Society, N. Y. C.	. .	1
Society of Equity	. .	1
Telegraph and Telephone Company, Boston	. .	1
Unitarian Association, Boston	. .	1
Woolen Company, Boston	. .	1
Anderson, William W., Houston, Texas	. .	1
Anderson (Ind.) Superintendent of Public Schools	. .	1
Andover Theological Seminary Alumni Association, Auburndale, Mass.	. .	1
Andrews, Byron,* Washington, D. C.	. .	14
Andrews, Charles B., Bryn Mawr, Pa.	. .	1
Antigo City Clerk	. .	1
Appleton City Clerk	1	. .
Arizona Board of Equalization, Phoenix	. .	2
Secretary of the Territory, Phoenix	. .	2
Territorial Auditor, Phoenix	. .	2
Arkansas Public Instruction Department, Little Rock	1	1
Secretary of State, Little Rock	1	. .
Association for International Conciliation, American Branch, N. Y. C.	. .	17

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Augustana Library, Rock Island, Ill.	. .	1
Aurora (Ill.) Board of Education	. .	1
Austin (Tex.) Superintendent of Public Instruction	2	2
Australia Bureau of Census and Statistics, Melbourne	. .	1
Bacon, William Plumb, New Britain, Conn.	1	. .
Baltimore City Librarian	5	. .
Superintendent of Schools	. .	1
Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company, Baltimore	. .	3
Bangor (Me.) Superintendent of Schools	. .	1
Baraboo City Clerk	1	38
Barker, John T., Evanston, Ill.	2	. .
Barron County Board of Supervisors, Barron	. .	1
Beecroft, Miss Lillian J., Madison	. .	3
Beer, William, New Orleans	1	. .
Bell, Mrs. S. R., Milwaukee	5	2
Beloit College, Beloit	. .	1
Berlin City Clerk	. .	8
Bibliographical Society of America, N. Y. C.	1	1
Birmingham (Ala.) Board of Education	. .	1
Blair, Miss Emma H., Madison	1	. .
Boardman, Mrs. M. A., Milwaukee	1	1
Boise (Idaho) Superintendent of Schools	. .	1
Bolton, S. K., East Cleveland, Ohio	. .	3
Boston Associated Charities	. .	2
Athenæum	3	2,236
Board of Gas & Electric Light Commissioners	1	. .
Children's Institutions Department	. .	3
City Auditor	1	. .
City Clerk	1	. .
City Hospital	. .	1
City Missionary Society	. .	6
Commission on Industrial Education	. .	9
Health Department	1	. .
Industrial Aid Society for Prevention of Pauperism	. .	6
Metropolitan Park Commission	1	. .
Metropolitan Water and Sewerage Board	1	. .
Overseers of the Poor	. .	1
Public Library	1	1
School Committee	2	. .
Statistics Department	. .	2
Boston Benevolent Fraternity of Churches	. .	41
Boston Home for Aged Men	. .	1
Boston Port & Seamen's Aid Society	. .	23
Boston Provident Association	. .	30
Bowditch, Charles P., Boston	. .	1
Bowdoin College, New Brunswick, Me.	. .	15
Bowdoin College Library, New Brunswick, Me.	. .	1
Boyd, Leroy S., Washington, D. C	. .	1
Bra ley, Charles, Newark, N. J.	1	. .
Bradley, I. S., Madison	1	16

Gifts to Library

Givers	Books	Pamphlets
Bradley, Mrs. I. S., Madison		1
Braley, Berton, Madison		1
Brant, S. A., Madison		1
Bridgeport (Conn.) Superintendent of Schools		1
Briesen, A. V., N. Y. C.		7
Brockton (Mass.) Superintendent of Schools		6
Brodhead Free Public Library		1
Brookline (Mass.) Public Library		1
Brooklyn (N. Y.) Public Library		1
Brown, A. C. L., Chicago	4	
Brown, Charles E., Madison		2
Brown, Charles N., Madison	1	101
Brown, Miss Elizabeth, Madison	1	
Brown, Frank G., Madison		2
Brown, L. S.,* Madison		2
Brown County Board of Supervisors, Green Bay		1
Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island		1
Bruce, William George, Milwaukee		1
Brussels, Ministère des Chemins de Fer, Postes et Telegraphes	1	
Buenos Aires, General Director of Municipal Statistics	1	
Buffalo Chamber of Commerce		1
City Clerk	9	3
Gas Company		1
Historical Society	2	
Public Library		1
Buford, R. D., Bedford City, Va.	1	
Bull, Storm, Estate of, Madison	71	48
Bunker Hill Monument Association, Boston	1	
Burlington City Clerk		1
Burlington (Ia.) Free Public Library		1
City Clerk		4
Burton, Clarence M., Detroit, Mich		1
Busche, J. F., N. Y. C.	1	
Butler Hospital, Providence, R. I.		1
Butte (Mont.) Superintendent of Schools		1
Cadle, Cornelius, Cincinnati, O.	1	
Calhoun (Ala.) Colored School		1
California Charities and Corrections Board, Sacramento	2	1
Secretary of State, Sacramento	1	
State Library, Sacramento		8
Superintendent of Public Instruction, Sacramento		6
University, Berkeley		8
Calumet County Board of Supervisors, Chilton		8
Cambria Steel Company, Philadelphia		1
Cambridge (Mass.) City Messenger	1	
Historical Society		1
Public Library		1
Superintendent of Schools		1
Canada Agricultural Department, Ottawa	1	
Archivist, Ottawa	1	
Auditor General, Ottawa	3	

* Also unbound serials.

Givers	Books	Pamphlets
Canada Geological Survey, Ottawa	4	10
Interior Department, Ottawa	1	. .
King's Printer, Ottawa	98	. .
Minister of Labour, Ottawa	. .	2
Canada Labour Gazette	6	. .
Carlisle (Pa.) Hamilton Library Association	. .	1
Carmen, A. S., Granville	1	. .
Carnegie Institute of Washington, Washington	2	. .
Library, Bradford, Pa.	. .	1
Homestead, Pa.	. .	1
Nashville, Tenn.	. .	2
Ottawa	2	. .
Pittsburg, Pa.	. .	2
Casgrain, P. B., Quebec	. .	1
Cassoday, J. B., Estate of, Madison	339	. .
Catholic Record Society, London	. .	1
Cayton, H. R., Seattle	1	. .
Charleston (S. C.) Mayor	2	. .
Chicago City Clerk	3	. .
Civil Service Commission	6	. .
Historical Society	. .	2
Public Library	. .	4
Relief and Aid Society	. .	15
South Park Commissioners	. .	21
Statistics Bureau and Municipal Library	2	1
Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad Co., Chicago	. .	1
Chicago Union Club	. .	1
Chicago University	. .	3
Chicopee (Mass.) City Clerk	1	. .
Cincinnati (O.) Chamber of Commerce	1	. .
Public Library	1	1
Superintendent of Schools	. .	4
Clark, Miss Mary, Plymouth	1	. .
Clark, William B., Baltimore	1	. .
Clark County Board of Supervisors, Neillsville	. .	11
Cleveland (O.) Associated Charities	. .	2
City Clerk	5	. .
Public Library	. .	2
Superintendent of Schools	. .	13
Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Boston	2	. .
Pennsylvania, Philadelphia	1	. .
Colorado Insurance Department, Denver	. .	1
State Agricultural College Library, Ft. Collins	1	3
State Penitentiary, Canon City	. .	1
University, Boulder	. .	3
Colorado Springs Superintendent of Schools	. .	2
Columbia County Board of Supervisors, Portage	. .	3
Columbus City Clerk	1	. .
Columbus (Ga.) Board of Trustees of Public Schools	. .	5
Columbus (O.) City Clerk	. .	15
Comly, Miss Gussie, Madison	11	26
Commons, John R., Madison	23	. .
Concatenated Order of Hoo-Hoo, Nashville, Tenn.	. .	1
Concord (Mass.) Superintendent of Schools	. .	1
Concordia College, Milwaukee	. .	1

Gifts to Library

Givers	Books	Pamphlets
Congdon, George E., Waterman, Ill.	. .	2
Connecticut Building and Loan Association, Hartford	1	. .
Historical Society, Hartford	1	4
Railroad Commissioner, Hartford	1	. .
State Library, Hartford	19	13
Connor, R. D. W., Raleigh, N. C.	. .	1
Cook County (Ill.) Board of Commissioners, Chicago	1	1
Cornell University Library, Ithaca, N. Y.	. .	3
Council Bluffs (Ia.) Public Library	. .	1
Crawford, William, Mazomanie	. .	1
Crawford County Board of Supervisors, Prairie du Chien	. .	5
Crooker, Joseph H., Boston	. .	1
Dane County Agricultural Society, Madison	. .	1
Daniells, W. W., Madison	. .	15
Dante Society, Cambridge, Mass.	. .	1
Daughters of the Revolution, General Society	. .	1
Davenport (Ia.) Superintendent of Schools	. .	2
Davies, J. E.,* Estate, Madison	10	. .
Davis, Andrew McFarland, Cambridge, Mass.	. .	3
Davis, Frank M., Madison	. .	1
Davis, Gehrardi, N. Y. C.	1	. .
Davis, Homer A., Mayville, Ky.	1	. .
Dawson, S. E., Ottawa	. .	1
Dayton (O.) City Auditor	1	5
Superintendent of Schools	. .	1
De La Salle Institute, Chicago	. .	2
Delaware Historical Society, Wilmington	. .	2
State Auditor, Dover	. .	1
Democratic Congressional Committee, N. Y.	. .	1
National Committee, Chicago	. .	1
Denver, City Clerk	2	. .
Mayor	. .	4
Superintendent of Schools	. .	1
Denver & Rio Grande Railroad Company, Denver	. .	1
De Pere City Clerk	1	1
Depew, Chauncy M., N. Y. C.	. .	6
Des Moines (Ia.) Superintendent of Schools	. .	4
Detroit (Mich.) City Clerk	9	. .
Public Library	1	1
Public Lighting Commission	. .	9
Superintendent of Schools	. .	6
Deutsche Gesellschaft von Milwaukee	. .	2
Deutsche Pionier-Verein von Philadelphia	. .	7
Dietz, J. H. W., Stuttgart	1	. .
District of Columbia, Charities Board	1	. .
Commissioners	2	4
Insurance Department	1	8
Public Library	. .	3
Divorce Commission, Williamsport, Pa.	. .	1
Dodge, R. E. N., Madison	1	. .
Donor Unknown	2	13
Dorchester Historical Society, Dorchester, Mass.	. .	2
Douglas County Clerk, Superior	. .	9

* Also unbound serials.

Givers	Books	Pamphlets
Dover (N. H.) Public Library		8
Drew Theological Seminary Library, Madison, N. J.	1	2
Drewry, George W., Waldo		7
Drexel Institute, Philadelphia	1	
Dubuque (Ia.) Superintendent of Schools		1
Duluth (Minn.) Mayor	1	5
Superintendent of Schools		1
Duncan, H. W., Los Angeles		1
Dunn County Clerk, Menomonie		10
Dunn County School of Agriculture, Menomonie		1
Durrett, Reuben T., Louisville, Ky.	1	
Dutton, Joseph, Kalawao, Molakai, Hawaii	1	2
Earl, Mrs. Fannie K., Madison		7
Eau Claire County Board of Supervisors, Eau Claire		11
Edmunds, J. H., † Boston		2
Ely, R. T., Madison	14	171
Elzas, Barnett A., Charleston, S. C.		1
Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore		1
Equitable Life Assurance Society of the U. S.		1
Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.		1
Evansville (Ind.) Superintendent of Schools		1
Everett (Mass.) City Clerk	7	
Fairmount Park Art Association, Philadelphia		1
Fales, Louis H., Madison		2
Falge, Louis, Manitowoc	1	
Fall River (Mass.) City Clerk	2	
Clerk of Committees	6	
Superintendent of Public Schools		6
Ferree, Barr, N. Y. C.		1
Field Museum of History, Chicago		1
Firelands Historical Society, Norwalk, Ohio	3	
Fischer, W. J., St. Louis		2
Fish, Carl Russell, Madison		5
Fitchburg (Mass.) City Clerk	1	
Fitzgerald, J. J., Mexico City	1	
Flisch, Miss Julia A., Madison		2
Fond du Lac City Clerk		1
Foote, Edward B., N. Y. C.		2
Fordham (N. Y.) Home for Incurables		1
Forest County Superintendent of Schools, Crandon		5
Fort Wayne (Ind.) Board of Public Works	1	
Superintendent of Schools		1
Foster, Miss Mary S.,* Madison		14
Fowler, Chester A., Portage		1
Frank Allaben Genealogical Company, N. Y. C	2	
Frankenburger, Mrs. David B.,* Madison		161
Gale, Mrs. J. S., Greeley, Colo.		1
Gay, Frederick Lewis, Brookline, Mass.		1

* Also unbound serials.
† Also maps.

Gifts to Library

Givers	Books	Pamphlets
General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church,* Philadelphia	. .	. .
Georgetown University, Washington	. .	1
Gilman, D. C., Baltimore	. .	1
Gloucester (Mass.) Superintendent of Schools	. .	5
Gold, Howard R., Madison	1	1
Goodnight, S. H., Madison	1	. .
Goodwin, F. P., Cincinnati	. .	1
Gookin, Frederick W., Chicago	. .	1
Goold, Nathan, Portland, Me.	. .	1
Gosselin, l'Abbé Amédée, Quebec	1	1
Grafton Hall, Fond du Lac	. .	1
Grand Army of the Republic, Wisconsin Department	. .	3
Grand Rapids (Mich.) Public Library	. .	5
Superintendent of Schools	. .	12
Grant, Luke, Chicago	1	. .
Grant County Clerk, Lancaster	. .	5
Great Britain Patent Office	114	. .
Green, Samuel A., Boston	12	102
Green County Board of Supervisors, Monroe	. .	6
Greene, Howard, Milwaukee	. .	8
Grover, Frank R., Evanston, Ill.	. .	1
Guilford Battle Ground Company, Greensboro, N. C.	. .	2
Gwynne Temporary Home for Children, Boston	. .	14
Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Hampton, Va.	. .	1
Harrisburg (Pa.) City Clerk	4	. .
School District	. .	2
Superintendent of Schools	. .	1
Hart, John, Richmond, Va.	1	. .
Hartford (Conn.) Board of Water Commissioners	. .	1
Charity Organization Society	. .	12
City Clerk	4	1
Public Library	. .	1
Superintendent of Schools	. .	10
Hartford Theological Seminary Record, Hartford, Conn.	. .	1
Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.	. .	1
Library, Cambridge, Mass.	. .	1
Haverhill (Mass.) City Clerk	1	. .
Superintendent of Schools	. .	1
Hawaii, Insurance Commissioner, Honolulu	. .	4
Promotion Committee, Honolulu	1	1
Hayes, Charles W., Geneva, N. Y.	. .	1
Helena, (Mont.) Public Library	. .	1
Helm, Harold L., Beloit	. .	1
Hill, Uriah Jr. Peekskill, N. Y.	1	. .
Hills, Thomas, Boston	. .	2
Himes, George H., Portland, Oregon	. .	1
Hess, R. H., Madison	1	. .
Hodge, George, Chicago	1	. .
Hoehn, G. A., St. Louis	3	. .

*Also unbound serials.

Givers	Books	Pamphlets
Holyoke (Mass.) City Clerk	1	
Superintendent of Schools		2
Houston (Tex.) Superintendent of Public Schools		1
Howard Memorial Library,* New Orleans		2
Hoyt, Mrs. Frank,* Madison		42
Hoyt, Melvin A., Milwaukee		1
Huch, C. F., Philadelphia		1
Hughes, J. W., Topeka, Kans.	1	
Hulburt, D. W.,* Wauwatosa		
Hunnewell, J. F., Boston	1	
Idaho Insurance Commissioner, Boise		4
State Board of Land Commissioners, Boise		5
State Department, Boise		2
State Engineer, Boise		1
Illinois Auditor of Public Accounts		3
Factory Inspection Department, Chicago	1	
Insurance Commissioner, Springfield	4	1
Labor Statistics Bureau, Springfield	3	10
Railroad and Warehouse Commission,† Springfield	2	1
State Board of Charities, Springfield		5
Superintendent of Public Instruction, Springfield	2	2
University, Urbana		2
Illinois State Bar Association, Mattoon, Ill.	1	
Immigration and Restriction League, Boston		3
Indian Rights Association, Philadelphia		1
Indiana Board of State Charities, Indianapolis		4
Public Library Commission, Indianapolis		1
State Auditor, Indianapolis	1	
State Board of Health, Indianapolis	1	
State Charities Board, Indianapolis	1	
State Library, Indianapolis	28	19
Indiana Federation of Labor, Logansport		3
Indiana Society, Sons of the American Revolution, Indianapolis	1	
Indiana Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans Home, Knightstown		2
Indiana State Grange, Oakwood		3
Indianapolis Auditor	1	
Charity Organization Society		6
Commercial Club	1	1
Superintendent of Public Schools		6
International Order of Odd Fellows, Milwaukee	1	3
Iowa Historical Department, Iowa City	2	
State Historical Society, Iowa City	4	
State Library, Des Moines	25	68
Superintendent of Public Instruction, Des Moines		4
Iowa County Clerk, Dodgeville		1
Jackson County Board of Supervisors, Black River Falls		3
James, C. C., Ottawa		1

* Also unbound serials.
† Also maps.

Gifts to Library

Givers	Books	Pamphlets
James, Henry Lorenzo, Santiago de Chili	8	17
Janesville City Clerk	1	. .
Japan Bureau de la Etat, Tokyo	1	. .
Bureau de la Statistique Générale, Tokyo	1	. .
Jastrow, Joseph, Madison	. .	1
Jefferson County Board of Supervisors, Jefferson	. .	10
Jersey City (N. J.) Board of Education	1	1
John Crerar Library, Chicago	. .	2
John F. Slater Fund, N. Y. C.	. .	1
John More Association, Seattle	. .	1
Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore	. .	1
Johnson, John A., Estate of, Madison	214	. .
Johnson County (Kans.) Old Settlers' Association	. .	1
Jones, Matt B., Boston	. .	1
Juneau City Clerk	1	. .
Juneau County Board of Supervisors, Mauston	. .	4
Kansas Railroad Commission, Topeka	1	. .
Secretary of State, Topeka	2	. .
State Historical Society, Topeka	3	6
Superintendent of Public Instruction	2	9
Kansas City Board of Education	1	1
City Comptroller	. .	2
Secretary of State	. .	5
Kartak, Mrs. M. M., Oconomowoc	3	. .
Kaukauna City Clerk	. .	1
Kellogg, Miss Louise P.,* Madison	. .	1
Kenehan, Roady, Denver	5	. .
Kennan, T. L., Milwaukee	1	. .
Kenosha County Board of Supervisors, Kenosha	. .	15
Kentucky Insurance Commissioner, Frankfort	4	1
Superintendent of Public Instruction, Frankfort	1	. .
Kerr, Alexander,* Madison	8	. .
Kewaunee County Board of Supervisors, Kewaunee	. .	8
Kingsley House Association, Pittsburgh	. .	2
Kirchoffer, Mrs. Marian G., Madison	1	. .
Kirchoffer, W. G.,* Madison	. .	. .
Konkle, Burton A., Swarthmore, Pa.	. .	1
Kremers, Edward S.,* Madison	. .	11
Kruszka, X. Waxlaw, Ripon	2	. .
La Crosse County Board of Supervisors, La Crosse	. .	10
La Fayette County Clerk, Darlington	. .	2
La Follette, Robert M., Madison	5	. .
Lake Mohonk Conference, Mohonk Lake, N. Y.	. .	2
Lake Placid Club, Morningside, N. Y.	. .	1
Lambeck, Arthur, Madison	1	4
Lancaster County Historical Society, Lancaster, Pa.	1	. .
Langlade County Board of Supervisors, Antigo	. .	13
Lapham, Miss Julia A., Oconomowoc	. .	1
Lawrence University, Appleton	1	. .
Laut, Miss Agnes C., Wassaic, N. Y.	. .	1

* Also unbound serials.

Givers	Books	Pamphlets
Laval University, Quebec		1
Law, George W., South Haven, Mich.	1	
Leadville (Colo.) Superintendent of City Schools		4
Legler, Henry E.,* Madison	2	22
Lehigh Coal & Navigation Company, Philadelphia		1
Leiter, Mrs. L. Z., Washington	1	
Lewis Institute, Chicago		4
Lincoln County Board of Supervisors, Merrill		3
Lincoln Fellowship, N. Y. C.		1
Lindsay, Crawford, Quebec		7
Little Rock (Ark.) City Clerk	1	4
Lloyd, William B., Winnetka, Ill.	1	
London (Eng.) Town Clerk	1	
Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce	2	
City Auditor	1	2
Civil Service Commission		4
Superintendent of Schools		2
Loubat, Duc de,† Paris, France		2
Louisiana Railroad Commission, Baton Rouge	1	
Louisiana State Board of Agriculture, Baton Rouge		2
State Museum, New Orleans		1
Louisville (Ky.) Superintendent of Schools		6
Lowell (Mass.) Board of Health		1
City Clerk		1
City Messenger	3	
Historical Society		1
Superintendent of Schools		2
Ludington, C. H., N. Y. C.	1	
Lynn (Mass.) Public Library	10	1
Superintendent of Schools		4
McIver, James, Washington		1
McPike, Eugene F., Chicago		1
Madison Art Association		1
Madison Book Club	1	
Madison Board of Education		1
City Library	53	1
General Hospital Association		1
Water Department		1
Maine Board of Health, Augusta		1
General Hospital, Portland		1
Historical Society, Portland	1	1
Industrial and Labor Statistics Bureau, Augusta	1	
Insurance Department, Augusta	1	2
State Library, Augusta	3	10
Malden (Mass.) Auditor	14	
City Clerk	2	
Manchester (N. H.) Superintendent of Public Instruction		1
Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society, Winnipeg		2
King's Printer, Winnipeg	2	
Manitowoc, City Clerk	1	
Public Library		1

* Also unbound serials.
† Also charts.

Gifts to Library

Givers	Books	Pamphlets
Manitowoc County Board of Supervisors, Manitowoc		5
County Clerk, Manitowoc		1
Marathon County Board of Supervisors, Wausau		3
County School of Agriculture and Domestic Economy, Wausau		2
Marinette County Board of Supervisors, Marinette		1
Marquette University, Milwaukee		1
Marshall, W. S., Madison	1	
Marston, J. J., Madison	3	
Martin, George W., Topeka, Kans.		2
Marvin, Miss Cornelia, Salem, Oregon		2
Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore	1	
Insurance Department, Baltimore	3	
Secretary of State, Baltimore	3	
State Forestry Board, Baltimore		1
State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Annapolis	4	3
Statistics & Information Bureau, Baltimore		1
Massachusetts Auditor, Boston	1	
Bank Commissioner, Boston	2	
Board of Education, Boston	1	
Bureau of Statistics of Labor, Boston		5
Chief of District Police, Boston	1	
Commissioner of Public Records, Boston		1
Gas and Electric Light Commissioners, Boston	2	
General Hospital, Boston	1	
Highway Commission, Boston	1	
Historical Society, Boston	2	
Humane Society, Boston		1
Insurance Department, Boston	3	
Labor Department, Boston	5	
Railroad Commissioners, Boston	2	
Secretary of the Commonwealth, Boston	2	
Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Boston		4
State Board of Charities, Boston	1	
State Board of Conciliation & Arbitration, Boston	1	
State Board of Health, Boston	1	
State Insane Hospital, Taunton		1
State Library, Boston	12	
Total Abstinence Society, Boston		1
Treasurer, Boston	1	
Matthews, Albert, Boston	1	1
Mayville City Clerk		1
Medford (Mass.) School Committee		1
Meese, William A., Moline, Ill.		1
Memphis (Tenn.) Superintendent of Schools		6
Meriden, (Conn.) Superintendent of Schools		4
Merkley, Mrs. D. T.,* N. Y. C.	10	43
Methodist Episcopal Church Board of Foreign Missions, N. Y. C.	1	
Western Wisconsin Conference		1
Wisconsin Annual Conference		1
Mexico Direccion Général de Estadistica, Mexico City	3	

* Also unbound serials

Givers	Books	Pamphlets
Meyer, B. H., Madison	2	1
Michigan Auditor General, Lansing	1	. .
Food & Dairy Commission, Lansing	. .	1
Labor Bureau, Lansing	1	. .
Public Instruction Department, Lansing	1	. .
State Library, Lansing	36	53
State Public School, Coldwater	. .	1
State University Library, Ann Arbor	1	. .
Treasury Department, Lansing	. .	4
Middlesex County Historical Society, Middletown, Conn.	. .	3
Military Order Loyal Legion of the U. S., California Commandery, San Francisco	. .	61
Iowa Commandery, Des Moines	. .	15
Kansas Commandery, Topeka	. .	1
Missouri Commandery, St. Louis	. .	5
Ohio Commandery, Columbus	. .	19
Wisconsin Commandery, Milwaukee	. .	8
Miller, Benjamin K., Milwaukee	1	. .
Millicent Library, Fairhaven, Mass.	. .	1
Mills, Miss Genevieve, Madison	3	. .
Milwaukee Board of School Directors	2	4
Chamber of Commerce	1	. .
City Clerk	5	. .
City Comptroller	1	. .
Fire Department	. .	1
Health Department	. .	3
Public Library	2	1
Public Museum	. .	1
Orphan's Asylum	. .	1
Protestant Home for the Aged	. .	7
Sentinel	61	. .
St. Æmilianus Orphan Asylum	. .	1
Milwaukee County Asylum	. .	1
Home for Dependent Children, Wauwatosa	. .	4
Minneapolis Charities and Corrections Department	. .	1
Superintendent of Schools	. .	2
Minnesota Forestry Commission, St. Paul	1	. .
Insurance Commissioner, St. Paul	8	1
Secretary of State, St Paul.	1	. .
State Public School, Owatonna	. .	8
Tax Commission, St. Paul	1	1
Mississippi Archives & History Department, Jackson	1	. .
Historical Society, University	. .	1
Railroad Commission, Jackson	1	. .
Missouri Historical Society, St Louis	1	1
Insurance Department, Jefferson City	1	1
Secretary of State, Jefferson City	1	. .
State Historical Society, Columbia	1	. .
State Superintendent of Schools, Jefferson City	2	2
University, Columbia	. .	1
Moe, Maurice, Milwaukee	. .	6
Monroe County Board of Supervisors, Sparta	. .	1
Montana Inspector of Coal Mines, Helena	1	. .
State Auditor, Helena	. .	8
State Bureau of Child & Animal Protection, Helena	. .	1

Gifts to Library

Givers	Books	Pamphlets
Montana Supt. of Public Instruction, Helena	1	2
Montana Historical & Miscellaneous Library, Helena	4	9
Montclair (N. J.) Superintendent of Schools	. .	1
Montreal (Canada) City	1	. .
Moore, Charles, Detroit	1	. .
Morris, Mrs. W. A. P.,* Madison	35	3
Mowry, Don E., Milwaukee	. .	5
Mowry, Duane, Milwaukee	. .	2
Munro, D. C., Madison	1	. .
Munro, D. C., and Sellery, G. C., Madison	1	. .
Muzzey, David S., Yonkers, N. Y.	1	. .
Nantucket (Mass.) Historical Association	. .	2
Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis R. R., Nashville	. .	1
National Association of Wool Manufacturers, Boston	. .	1
Biscuit Company, N. Y. C.	. .	1
Carbon Company, Cleveland	. .	1
Civil Service Reform League, N. Y. C.	. .	2
Divorce Commission, Williamsport, Pa.	2	. .
Educational Association, Winona, Minn.	. .	2
Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, Ohio Branch	1	. .
League for the Protection of the Family, Auburndale, Mass.	. .	1
Women's Christian Temperance Union, Evanston, Ill.	. .	1
Near, Irvin W., Hornellsville, N. Y.	. .	1
Nebraska Adjutant General, Lincoln	3	. .
Banking Department, Lincoln	1	. .
Commissioner of Public Lands,† Lincoln	. .	. .
Deputy Commissioner of Labor, Lincoln	1	. .
Public Lands and Buildings Commissioner, Lincoln.	1	. .
State Department	. .	10
Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln	3	. .
State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Lincoln	1	2
Statistics Department, Lincoln	3	. .
Nelson, John M., Madison	3	1
Neubauer, Jacob P., Los Angeles	1	. .
Nevada Secretary of State, Carson City	. .	1
State Engineer, Carson City	. .	3
Surveyor General	. .	4
New Bedford (Mass.) City Clerk	2	. .
Free Public Library	. .	1
Superintendent of Schools	. .	2
New Britain (Conn.) Superintendent of Schools	. .	10
New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord	1	. .
State Library, Concord	21	3
New Haven (Conn.) Board of Education	. .	2
Colony Historical Society, New Haven	. .	1
Orphan Asylum	. .	1
New Jersey Agricultural Experiment Station, New Brunswick	. .	1
Banking and Insurance Department, Trenton	3	. .

* Also unbound serials.
† Also maps.

Givers	Books	Pamphlets
New Jersey Comptroller, Trenton	2	. .
Historical Society	1	. .
Public Roads Commissioner, Trenton	1	. .
State Board of Children's Guardians, Jersey City	. .	4
State Library, Trenton	6	. .
State Normal and Model Schools, Trenton	. .	1
State Sewerage Commission, Jersey City	1	. .
State Treasurer, Trenton	1	. .
Statistics Bureau, Trenton	1	. .
Superintendent of Public Instruction, Trenton	1	. .
New Mexico Department of the Interior, Santa Fé	2	1
Department of Territorial Engineer, Santa Fé	. .	1
Historical Society, Santa Fé	. .	1
New Richmond City Clerk	. .	1
New Orleans Comptroller	1	. .
New South Wales Statistics Bureau, Sydney	2	5
New York Attorney General, Albany	1	. .
Banking Department, Albany	3	3
Historical Society, N. Y. C.	1	. .
Insurance Commissioner, Albany	10	2
Labor Statistics Bureau, Albany	. .	1
Public Service Commission, N. Y. C.	2	42
Secretary of State, Albany	2	. .
State Board of Charities, Albany	4	. .
State Board of Tax Commissioners, Albany	1	. .
State Charities Aid Association, N. Y. C.	. .	7
State Civil Service Commission, Albany	1	. .
State Education Department, Albany	. .	10
State Engineer & Surveyor, Albany	2	. .
State Health Department, Albany	1	5
State Historical Association, Albany	2	. .
State Hospital for the Care of Crippled and Deformed Children, West Haverstraw	. .	1
State Labor Department, Albany	4	3
State Library, Albany	17	19
State Prison Commission, Albany	1	. .
State Reservation at Niagara	. .	1
New York City, Bellevue & Allied Hospitals	1	13
Board of Education	1	7
Charity Organization Society	. .	8
Bridges Department	2	12
Chamber of Commerce	1	. .
Children's Aid Society	. .	1
Civil Service Reform Association	. .	1
Colored Mission	. .	2
Commissioner of Accounts	7	. .
Comptroller	2	. .
Correction Department	. .	2
Dock Company	. .	1
Estimate & Apportionment Board	4	. .
Finance Department	1	1
Health Department	5	1
Institution for the Deaf & Dumb	. .	1
Juvenile Asylum	. .	14
Legal Aid Society	. .	1

Gifts to Library

Givers	Books	Pamphlets
New York City, Mayor	. .	7
Mercantile Library	. .	1
Parks Department	. .	11
Pennsylvania Society	1	. .
Police Department	1	7
President Borough of the Bronx	2	. .
President Borough of Brooklyn	3	. .
President Borough of Manhattan	4	. .
Produce Exchange	5	. .
Provident Loan Society	. .	2
Public Charities Department	. .	2
Public Library	28	3
Queen's Borough Public Library	. .	1
St. Mary's Free Hospital for Children, N. Y. C.	. .	1
Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children	. .	10
Society for Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents	. .	1
Society for the Suppression of Vice	. .	19
Street Cleaning Department	1	6
Superintendent of Schools	3	. .
Taxes and Assessment Department	1	. .
Visiting Committee	. .	17
Water Supply, Gas, and Electricity Department	4	3
New York Catholic Protectory, N. Y. C.	. .	1
New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R. Co., New Haven, Conn.	. .	1
New Zealand Tourist & Health Resort Department, Wellington	1	. .
Registrar-General, Wellington	5	. .
Newark (N. J.) Mayor	1	. .
Municipal Library	2	. .
Superintendent of Education	1	. .
Newberry Library, Chicago	. .	2
Newburyport (Mass.) City Clerk	18	. .
Newspapers and Periodicals Received from Publishers	710	. .
Newton (Mass.) Superintendent of Schools	. .	7
Niagara on the Lake (Ont.) Historical Society	. .	3
Nijhoff, M. A., 's-Gravenhage	. .	1
Norfolk (Va.) Superintendent of Schools	. .	2
Norfolk & Western R. R. Co., Philadelphia	. .	1
North American Company, N. Y. C.	. .	1
North Carolina Auditor, Raleigh	1	. .
Corporation Commission, Raleigh	1	. .
Historical Society, Raleigh	. .	2
Historical Commission, Raleigh	1	. .
Insurance Commissioner, Raleigh	4	. .
Secretary of State, Raleigh	. .	3
Superintendent of Public Instruction, Raleigh	1	1
North Dakota Insurance Commissioner, Bismarck	3	3
Land Department, Bismarck	. .	8
Public Instruction Department, Bismarck	2	3
Railroad Commissioners, Bismarck	2	. .
State Engineer, Bismarck	. .	2
State Examiner, Bismarck	. .	1
State Historical Society, Bismarck	1	. .
State Treasurer, Bismarck	1	. .

Givers	Books	Pamphlets
Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Co., Milwaukee	1	
Northwestern University, Watertown		1
Northwestern University Library, Evanston, Ill.	1	
Nova Scotia King's Printer, Halifax		1
Noyes, George H., Milwaukee		3
Nunns, Miss Annie A., Madison		1
Oakland (Cal.) Superintendent of Schools		2
Oakley, Miss Mary, Madison,		2
Oakley, Miss Minnie M., Madison	24	1
Oberlin (O.) College	1	1
Oconto Superintendent of City Schools		1
Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, Columbus.	3	
Commissioner of Common Schools, Columbus	2	2
Labor Statistics Bureau, Columbus	1	
Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home, Xenia		2
State Auditor, Columbus	1	
State Bar Association, Columbus	2	
State Library, Columbus	33	69
Superintendent of Public Instruction, Columbus	1	
Oklahoma Corporation Commission, Guthrie		1
Secretary of State, Guthrie		5
Superintendent of Public Instruction, Guthrie		2
Old Dartmouth Historical Society, New Bedford, Mass.		3
Olin, Mrs. J. M.,* Madison		1
Omaha Public Library		2
Superintendent of Schools		2
Ontario Agricultural Department, Ottawa	1	
Historical Society, Toronto	2	2
King's Printer, Toronto	1	
Provincial Museum, Toronto		2
Oregon Secretary of State, Salem	3	10
State Library, Salem		26
Superintendent of Public Instruction, Salem	3	4
Osterhout Free Library, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.		2
Outagamie County Superintendent of Schools		3
Ozaukee County Board of Supervisors, Port Washington		3
Pacific University, San Jose, Cal.		3
Parkinson, Miss Eve, Madison	2	1
Parkinson, J. B., Madison	2	
Passavant, D. L., Zelienople, Pa.	1	
Patrick, Louis S., Marinette	10	213
Patrons of Husbandry, National Grange, Tippecanoe City, O.		7
Peabody, George F., N. Y. C.	1	
Peabody (Mass.) Historical Society		1
Peabody Institute, Baltimore		1
Pease, V. S., Boscobel		3
Pedrick, S. M., Ripon	1	
Pennsylvania Adjutant-General, Harrisburg.	1	
Bar Association	1	

*Also unbound serials.

Gifts to Library

Givers	Books	Pamphlets
Pennsylvania Federation Hist. Societies, Heilman Dale	. .	1
Insurance Department, Harrisburg	2	. .
Internal Affairs Department, Harrisburg	1	. .
State Library, Harrisburg	19	28
Superintendent of Public Instruction, Harrisburg	2	1
University, Philadelphia	2	1
People's Gas Light & Coke Co., Chicago	. .	1
Peoria (Ill.) Superintendent of Schools	. .	1
Perkins Institution for the Blind, Boston	. .	2
Perry, William W., Milwaukee	. .	2
Philadelphia Board of Education	1	1
Board of Trade	1	. .
Children's Country Week Association	. .	1
Common Council	29	. .
Free Library	1	3
Maritime Exchange	1	. .
Mayor	3	4
Public Works Department	1	. .
Philippine Islands Customs Bureau, Manila	. .	35
Forestry Bureau, Manila	. .	2
Health Bureau, Manila	. .	2
Weather Bureau,	. .	1
Phillips, F. L., Madison	4	1
Phillips, Ulrich B., New Orleans	. .	1
Pierce County Board of Supervisors, Ellsworth	. .	6
Pittsburg City Comptroller	. .	1
Coal Company	. .	1
Plainfield (N. J.) Superintendent of Schools	. .	1
Platteville City Clerk	1	. .
Poffenbarger, Mrs. Lina S., Charleston, W. Va.	. .	1
Polak, Edward, N. Y. C.	. .	1
Polk County Board of Supervisors, Balsam Lake	. .	12
Portage City Clerk	1	4
Porter, Rolland L., Mukwonago	. .	1
Portland (Me.) City Auditor	1	. .
Superintendent of Schools	. .	1
Portland (Ore.) City Auditor	2	2
Superintendent of Schools	. .	2
Porto Rico, Commissioner of Education, San Juan	. .	15
Secretary's Office, San Juan	. .	1
Portsmouth (N. H.) Superintendent of Schools	. .	1
Powers, A. C., Beloit	. .	3
Pratt Institute Free Library, Brooklyn	. .	1
Presbyterian Church Board of Foreign Missions, N. Y. C.	. .	1
Board of Relief, Philadelphia	. .	1
General Assembly, Philadelphia	2	. .
Synod of Wisconsin, Crandon	. .	1
Price County Board of Supervisors, Phillips	. .	9
Prohibition National Committee, Chicago	. .	7
Protestant Episcopal Church, American Church Building Fund Commission	. .	1
Diocese of Connecticut	. .	1
Diocese of Harrisburg	. .	1
Diocese of Louisiana	. .	1
Diocese of Milwaukee	. .	1

Givers	Books	Pamphlets
Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of Rhode Island		1
Diocese of Washington, D. C.		2
Diocese of Western Michigan		1
Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, N. Y. C.	1	3
Proudfit, Mrs. A. E.,* Madison	1	
Providence (R. I.) Athenæum		1
City Clerk	1	
Old Home Week Committee		1
Public Library		1
Public School Department		1
School Committee		1
Quebec King's Printer	6	
Literary & Historical Society		1
Quickeret, Karl, West Bend	1	
Racine Board of Education		9
Racine County Board of Supervisors		3
Raymer, Charles D., Seattle	2	
Raymer, George, Madison	1	
Reading (Pa.) Water Commissioners	1	
Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, Spain	4	
Reed, Roy, Ripon	2	
Reinsch, P. S., Madison	8	
Republican Congressional Committee, N. Y. C.		19
Republican National Committee, N. Y. C.		15
Reynolds Family Association, Philadelphia		2
Rhode Island Charities & Corrections Board, Providence		1
Factory Inspector, Providence	1	
General Treasurer, Providence	1	
Industrial Statistics Bureau, Providence	1	1
Public School Commissioner, Providence	1	
State Library, Providence		3
Richland Center City Clerk	1	
Richland County Board of Supervisors, Richland Center		3
Richmond (Va.) Superintendent of Schools		4
Ripon City Clerk	1	
Roberts, W. H., Philadelphia	5	
Robinson, C. H., Washington, D. C.		1
Roblier, W. A., Coloma		2
Rochester (N.Y.) City Clerk	3	
Reynolds Library		1
Rock County Board of Supervisors, Janesville		3
Rockford (Ill.) Superintendent of Schools		6
Rood, H. W., Madison		1
Rosengarten, F. G., Philadelphia	1	1
Rowland, J. C., Berkeley, Cal.		1
Royal Society of Canada, Ottawa	3	
Rubrecht, G. K., Milwaukee		7
Rusk County Board of Supervisors, Ladysmith		1
Rutgers College Library, New Brunswick, N. J.		1

* Also unbound serials.

Gifts to Library

Givers	Books	Pamphlets
Saginaw (Mich.) Superintendent of Schools		1
St. Croix County Board of Supervisors, Hudson		2
St. Joseph (Mo.) Mayor	1	
St. Louis City Register	3	
Civic League	2	15
Mercantile Library Association		1
Merchants' Exchange	1	
Public Library		2
Superintendent of Schools	1	4
St. Paul City Clerk	7	
Comptroller	1	
Salem (Mass.) City Clerk	4	
Public Library		1
Salt Lake City Superintendent of Schools		2
Sampson, F. A., Columbia, Mo.		4
San Diego (Cal.) Superintendent of Schools		1
San Francisco, Bank of California		1
Board of Supervisors	1	
Chamber of Commerce		1
Civil Service Commission		1
Public Library		3
Superintendent of Schools		1
San Jose (Cal.) Superintendent of Schools		2
Santa Fé (New Mexico) Superintendent of Public Instruction		8
Sargeant, W. H., Norfolk, Va.	1	
Saskatchewan Agricultural Department, Regina		2
Education Department, Regina		1
Government Printer's Office, Regina	3	2
Provincial Secretary, Regina		1
Sauk County Board of Supervisors, Baraboo		4
Savannah (Ga.) City Clerk	6	
Saville, M. H. & Heyl G. G., N. Y. C.	1	
Sawyer County Board of Supervisors, Hayward		2
Scranton (Pa.) Public Library		1
Seattle Comptroller	1	
Self Culture Association, St. Louis		1
Sellery, G. C., Madison		1
Sentinel Company, Milwaukee	5	
Sercombe, Parker, Chicago	2	
Sewell, Miss Anne B., Stoughton	1	
Sewell, Miss H., Stoughton		1
Seymour, Miss Vernie,* Madison		
Sharon (Mass.) Historical Society		1
Shawano City Clerk	1	
Shawano County Board of Supervisors, Shawano		4
Sheboygan Superintendent of Schools		2
Sheboygan County Superintendent of Schools		4
Sheldon, Miss Georgiana,* Madison	32	100
Simplified Spelling Board, N. Y. C.		6
Sioux City (Iowa) Public Library		1
Superintendent of Schools		1
Smith, Henry A., Charleston, S. C.		1

*Alsounbound serials.

Givers	Books	Pamphlets
Smith, Howard T., Madison	16	. .
Smith, Walter M., Madison	2	15
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.	15	1
Snoddy, James S., Helena, Mont.	. .	3
Snow, A. H., Washington, D. C.	1	1
Socialist National Committee, Chicago	. .	5
Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, Baltimore	. .	2
of the Army of the Tennessee, Cincinnati	1	. .
Somerville (Mass.) Superintendent of Schools	. .	1
City Clerk	2	. .
South Australia, Chief Secretary, Adelaide	1	. .
Government Printer, Adelaide	1	. .
Government Statist's Office, Adelaide	. .	2
South Carolina Agricultural Department, Columbia	1	. .
Comptroller General, Columbia	1	2
Historical Commission, Columbia	. .	1
State Library, Columbia	4	. .
State Treasurer, Columbia	. .	1
Superintendent of Education, Columbia	. .	16
South Dakota Auditor, Pierre	1	. .
Insurance Commissioner, Pierre	4	. .
Railroad Commission, † Sioux Falls	4	. .
Schools & Public Lands Department, Pierre	. .	2
School Commissioner, Pierre	1	. .
State Engineer, Pierre	. .	1
State Treasurer, Pierre	. .	1
Southern California Historical Society, Los Angeles	. .	1
Southern History Association, Washington, D. C.	1	. .
Southern Indiana R. R. Co., Chicago	. .	1
Southern Wisconsin Cheesemakers Association, Monroe	. .	1
Spanish-American Book Co., N. Y. C.	. .	1
Springfield (Ill.) Mayor	1	. .
Springfield (Mass.) City Clerk	6	. .
Superintendent of Schools	. .	1
Standard Oil Company	. .	1
Starr, Merritt, Springfield, Ill.	. .	1
Stephenson, Isaac, Marinette	1	. .
Stephenson Public Library, Marinette	. .	1
Stevens, Mrs. B. J., Madison	1	. .
Stockton (Cal.) Superintendent of Schools	. .	7
Stoughton Superintendent of Schools	. .	3
Struve, Mrs. C. E., Madison	16	. .
Sturgeon Bay City Clerk	1	. .
Suffolk County Historical Society, Riverhead, N. Y.	. .	1
Superior Superintendent of Schools	. .	6
Swedish-American Historical Society, Evanston, Ill.	. .	1
Syracuse (N. Y.) Board of Education	. .	1
City Clerk	4	1
Public Library	. .	1
Talladega (Ala.) Public Library	. .	1
Tanner, H. B.,* Kaukauna	. .	359

† Also maps.
* Also unbound serials.

Gifts to Library

Givers	Books	Pamphlets
Taylor County Board of Supervisors, Medford	. .	3
Temporary Home for Working Women, Boston	. .	12
Tennessee Insurance Department, Nashville	1	. .
Mine Inspector, Nashville	2	1
Terre Haute (Ind.) Superintendent of Schools	. .	4
Texas General Land Office, Austin,	. .	5
Insurance & Banking Department, Austin	. .	5
Secretary of State, Austin	. .	48
Superintendent of Public Instruction, Austin	1	1
University, Austin	. .	1
Thwaites, R. G., Madison	46	105
Tilton, A. C.,† Madison	9	7
Tilton, C. S., Indianapolis	1	1
Toledo (O.) Public Library	. .	1
Superintendent of Schools	. .	3
Tomah City Clerk	1	. .
Toronto Mayor	. .	1
Public Library	. .	1
University	3	3
Trelease, William, St. Louis	. .	2
Trenton (N. J.) City Clerk	1	. .
Trinity College, Durham, N. C.	. .	1
Truth Seeker Co., N. Y. C.	8	. .
Turner, F. J., Madison	1	1
Two Rivers City Clerk	1	. .
United Fruit Co., Boston	. .	1
United States Agricultural Department	. .	59
Bureau of American Republics	. .	2
Census Bureau	1	11
Commerce & Labor Department	33	8
Commissioner of Corporations	1	1
Ethnology Bureau	. .	1
Geological Survey	1	47
Industrial Commission	1	. .
Insular Affairs Bureau	3	8
Interior Department	2	. .
Interstate Commerce Commission	3	149
Justice Department	. .	1
Library of Congress	43	203
Life Saving Service	2	. .
Manufactures Bureau	. .	6
Mint Bureau	2	. .
Patent Office	37	1
Pensions Bureau	. .	1
Post Office Department	. .	1
Public Health & Marine Hospital Service	1	14
State Department	2	. .
Statistics Bureau	1	4
Superintendent of Documents	144	381
Treasury Department	4	12
War Department	4	. .
Weather Bureau	. .	2
United States Brewers' Association	. .	1

†Also maps.

Givers	Books	Pamphlets
United States Steel Corporation, Hoboken, N. J.		1
Usher, Ellis B., Milwaukee	6	17
Usher, Robert, Madison		1
Utah Agricultural College, Logan		2
Secretary of State, Salt Lake		13
State Board of Land Commissioners, Salt Lake		10
State Engineer, Salt Lake	1	
Superintendent of Public Instruction, Salt Lake	3	
Van Hise, C. R., Madison		4
Van Slyke, N. B.,* Madison	61	
Vermont Military College, Northfield		1
State Library, Montpelier	9	17
State Treasurer, Montpelier		1
Vernon County Board of Supervisors, Viroqua		8
Verwyst, C., St. Louis	1	
Victoria Government Statist, Melbourne	1	
Vilas, Mrs. Levi M., Madison	28	
Vilas, William F., Madison	3	
Vineland (N. J.) Historical and Antiquarian Society		1
Virginia Insurance Department, Richmond	2	
Labor Statistics Bureau, Richmond	1	
Public Instruction Department, Richmond	2	5
State Corporation Commission, Richmond	1	
State Library, Richmond		3
Vivisection Reform Society, Chicago	1	2
Wabash R. R. Co., Chicago		4
Walker, E. C., N. Y. C.	3	
Walling, William E., Chicago	1	
Waltham (Mass.) City Clerk	4	
Walworth County Board of Supervisors, Elkhorn		4
Ward, Henry L., Milwaukee		3
Warner, W. W., Madison		1
Washington Railroad Commission, Olympia	2	
Civil Service Commission, Seattle		1
Insurance Department, Olympia		2
State Library, Olympia	2	3
Washington (D. C.) Board of Trade		1
Washington County Board of Supervisors, West Bend		11
Waterbury (Conn.) Superintendent of Schools		1
Watertown City Clerk	1	2
Waupaca County Board of Supervisors, Waupaca		6
Wausau City Clerk	1	
Waushara County Board of Supervisors, Wautoma		1
Superintendent of Schools, Wautoma		7
Waukesha County Board of Supervisors, Waukesha		9
Wauwatosa City Clerk		5
Weeks, Stephen B., Greensboro, N. C.		2
Weitling, T. W., Staten Island, N. Y.	1	
Welsh, Miss Iva A.,* Madison		1
West Virginia Auditor, Charleston	6	

*Also unbound serials.

Gifts to Library

Givers	Books	Pamphlets
West Virginia Free Schools Department, Charleston	2	5
Western Australia Government Statistician, Perth	4	. .
Western Historical Association, Madison	1	. .
Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland	1	1
Western Union Telegraph Co., N. Y. C.	. .	2
Wheeling (W. Va.) Superintendent of Schools	. .	2
Whipple, Henry P., Waterloo	1	. .
White, Peter, Marquette, Mich.	1	. .
Whitney, Joseph C., Boston	1	. .
Wichita (Kans.) Superintendent of Schools	. .	2
Wight, Edward B.,* Everett, Wash.	3	14
Wight, William W., Milwaukee	3	3
Wilmington (Del.) Superintendent of Schools	. .	2
Winnebago County Board of Supervisors, Oshkosh	. .	10
Winterbotham, J. M., Madison	1	. .
Wisconsin Adjutant General	. .	1
Agricultural Experiment Station	9	6
Banking Department	2	2
Dairy and Food Commissioner	. .	1
Executive Office	68	252
Fisheries Commission	. .	1
Free Library Commission	23	119
Geological and Natural History Survey	6	4
Insurance Department	6	1
Labor Bureau	25	328
Legislative Reference Library	21	45
Live Stock Sanitary Board	. .	1
Railroad Commission	1	124
School for the Blind, Delavan	. .	1
State	22	3
State Board of Agriculture	1	. .
State Board of Control	3	. .
State Board of Health	. .	2
State Civil Service Commission	. .	1
State Horticultural Society	. .	3
State Library	56	174
State Normal School, River Falls	. .	1
State Supervisor of Inspectors of Illuminating Oils	. .	2
Superintendent of Public Instruction	1	7
University	1	. .
University Library	5	. .
Wisconsin Academy of Arts, Sciences and Letters, Madison	1	3
Wisconsin Alumni Association, Madison	3	. .
Wisconsin Library School, Madison	. .	1
Wisconsin Press Association, Clinton	. .	2
Wisconsin State Bar Association, Madison	1	. .
Wisconsin State Firemen's Association, Jefferson	. .	1
Wisconsin Third Wis. Vet. Inf. Association, Janesville	. .	2
Wisconsin Twenty-first Reg. Wis. Vol. Inf. Association	. .	1
Wisconsin Twenty-eighth Wis. Vol. Inf. Society, Milwaukee	. .	1
Woburn (Mass.) City Clerk	1	. .
Wolf, Alfred J., Fairhope, Ala.	. .	1
Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Madison	. .	1

Givers	Books	Pamphlets
Women's Educational and Industrial Union, Boston		2
Wood County Board of Supervisors, Grand Rapids		6
Worcester (Mass.) City Clerk	3	
Free Public Library		1
Superintendent of Schools		1
Worcester County (Mass.) Law Library, Worcester		1
Wright Milwaukee Directory Co., Milwaukee	3	
Wrong, George W., Toronto	35	
Wyoming Executive Department, Cheyenne		1
Secretary of State, Cheyenne		6
State Engineer, Cheyenne	1	4
University Agricultural Experiment Station, Laramie		6
Wyoming (Pa.) Commemorative Association, Dorranceton		1
Wyoming Historical & Geological Society, Wilkes-Barré		1
Yale University, New Haven, Conn.		1
Library		1
Young Churchman Company, Milwaukee	1	
Young Men's Christian Association of Wisconsin		3

Accessions of MSS., Maps, Etc.

(Gifts, save where otherwise specified. The report covers the year ending September 30, 1908.)

Manuscripts

J. B. Cassoday Estate, Madison.—Note-book containing index to New York *Evening Post*, 1862–65.

J. H. Evans, Platteville.—Requisition from Fort Crawford, signed by Zachary Taylor, colonel commanding, dated July 31, 1834. Statement of George J. Reynolds, Co. D., 15th Iowa Infantry, an eye-witness, concerning the death of Gen. James B. McPherson, July 22, 1864. Order by Don Domingo Cavello de Robles, cabo subaltern of Cuba, to Don Vicento Manuel de Zespedes, governor of St. Augustine, concerning a vessel which had been seized by the government, dated Nov. 18, 1789.

George Fairfield, Prairie du Chien.—Appointment of donor as sergeant in Co. C., 6th Wisconsin volunteers. Two sheets of a ledger kept at Prairie du Chien, 1844–45.

Mrs. Louise S. Favill, Madison.—Five letters from Ramsay Crooks to Henry S. Baird, 1845–58.

Samuel A. Green, Boston.—Transcript of "A Journal or Account of the Capture of John Pattin," who went on a trading expedition to the Miamis in 1750, together with four other papers relating to this event; the originals of all but one of these four being in the handwriting of William Clark. From originals in possession of Massachusetts Historical Society.

Miss Julia Lapham, Oconomowoc.—Fifteen letters bearing on the early history of the University of Wisconsin, dated 1848–68.

Otto E. Lay, Kewaskum.—Letter from J. T. Van Vechten of Wauwatosa to H. J. Lay, containing reminiscences of settlement and early history of Kewaskum.

Misses Sarah G. and Deborah B. Martin, Green Bay.—Five letters to Morgan L. Martin from Otto Tank and others, concerning Fox River improvements, the fur-trade, etc., dated 1826–55.

Duane Mowry, Milwaukee.—Letters relating to claims of Stephen N. Ives of Racine against the United States government, for stone furnished for

use in improvement of various Wisconsin harbors. From the papers of Sen ator James R. Doolittle.

Mrs. Lydia Oben, La Crosse.—Commission of John H. Fonda as lieutenant in the Wisconsin territorial militia, Jan. 5, 1841.

Charles F. Powner, Chicago.—A bundle of muster rolls and vouchers of the Third regiment, Wisconsin volunteers, 1862. (Purchased.)

John M. W. Pratt, Milwaukee.—MS. relative to erection of a soldiers' monument in Milwaukee.

Lewis H. Scidmore, Medford.—MS. containing the "Declaration of rights and frame of government adopted by the Stockbridge nation, Feb. 7, 1837;" also, the laws enacted by their legislative council from 1837 to 1852; and their appropriation bills from 1849 to 1852.

H. B. Tanner, Kaukauna.—Accounts, letters, etc., concerning drug store at Kaukauna, 1890–1907. State oil inspection—monthly reports from Jan., 1895, to Sept., 1897. Correspondence of the chief inspector from 1894 to 1901 (not to be opened for examination until the year 1918).

Wisconsin Governor's Office, Madison.—Collection of drawings and plans for improvements of state capitol. Miscellaneous communications sent to the governors of Wisconsin, 1861–1905. Letters, proclamations, and other papers received at or issued from the executive office during the administrations of Governor Dodge, 1836; Governor Doty, 1844; Governor Randall, 1860; Governor Fairchild, 1866; and Governor Peck, 1892–93. (The foregoing transfers were made under the archives law—chapter 676, Laws of 1907.)

Wisconsin Railroad Commission, Madison.—Statements of free transportation issued to residents of Wisconsin by railroads, 1905–06. Typewritten copies of proceedings, examinations of witnesses, etc., in cases heard by the commission. (Also transferred under chapter 676, Laws of 1907.)

Wisconsin Secretary of State, Madison.—Diplomas awarded to the state for exhibits at the St. Louis Exposition, 1904. (Also under chapter 676, Laws of 1907.)

Wisconsin Superintendent of Public Property, Madison.—Two MS. memoranda to the legislature, by citizens of the Fox River valley, relative to floods. Annual reports of Wisconsin railroad companies, as follows: Oshkosh Transportation Co., 1891–96; St. Paul Eastern Grand Trunk, 1890–93; Milwaukee, Lake Shore & Western, 1889, 1890, 1893. Wisconsin National Guard, special orders, 1880–86, 1887–92, 1893–95; general and special orders, 1887. (Also under chapter 676, Laws of 1907.)

On exchange.—Proceedings of a meeting of men of the Union and States Rights Party of the District of Chesterfield, South Carolina, Dec. 24, 1832.

Important Maps

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.—Carte de la nouvelle decouverte que les R. R. Pères Iesuistes ont fait en l'annee 1672, et continuée par le R. Pere Jacques Marquette de la mesme Compagnie, accompagné de quelques Francois en l'annee 1673, quon pourra nommer la Manitoumé, a cause

de la Statue qui s'est trouve dans une belle vallée, et que les Sauvages vont recoñoistre pour leur Diuiniti, quils appellent Manitou, qui signifié Esprit, ou Genie. (Photograph, purchased.)

Carte des grands lacs et du Mississippi jusqu 'au dessous de l'Ohio dont le cours inférier, continué par une ligne de points, donne à cette carte la date de 1673. (Photograph, purchased.)

Bibliothèque du Depot des Cartes et Plans de la Marine, Paris.—Carte des nouvelles découvertes dans l'ouest du Canada, dressée diton, sur les Memories de M. de La Väranderie, mais fort imparfaite, (àce qui'l m'a dit) ä M. de La Galissonnière. (Copy, purchased.)

Carte d'un voyage fait dans la Belle Riviére en Nouvelle France, MDCCXLIX, par le Réverend Père Bonnecamps, jésuitte mathamaticien. (Copy, purchased.)

Illustrative Material

William Beer, New Orleans.—Two facsimiles of early engravings of Pensacola, Florida.

C. E. Brown, Madison.—Photograph of Wisconsin Archæological Society on a field expedition to Muskegon Lake region, in Waukesha County. Halftone of old Canfield hop house, Baraboo.

Charles W. Burrows, Cleveland, Ohio.—Portrait of Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm-Gazon de Saint Veran, being a reproduction of a private photograph of the original oil painting.

Edward S. Curtis, Seattle, Wash.—Title-page and ten photogravures from his *The North American Indian.*

Frank H. Edsall, Madison.—Photograph of framework of Winnebago lodge on shore of Lake Monona, April, 1908.

George Fairfield, Prairie du Chien.—Collection of post-card views, chiefly of Prairie du Chien. Newspapers and scrap-books, illustrating the War of Secession.

Mrs. Henry Harmer, Randolph.—Photograph of her husband, a soldier in the War of Secession.

Gen. J. W. F. Hughes, Topeka, Kansas.—Twenty-six photographs of early settlers of Wisconsin.

Charles W. Noyes, Castine, Me.—Map and elevation sketch of Fort Pentagoet at Castine, Me., 1870–97.

Miss Minnie M. Oakley, Madison.—Collection of one hundred portraits and views.

S. S. Oeland, Madison.—Photograph of old Kentucky loom.

A. H. Sanford, Stevens Point.—Photograph of Michael Koziczkowski, the pioneer Polish settler of Portage County.

R. G. Thwaites, Madison.—Thirty-three views of Colorado and New Mexico scenes, taken in 1880–84, and thirteen other photographs.

Edward B. Wight, Everett, Wash.—Three views of the North family buildings; of the Square house; and three stereopticon views.

Purchased.—Eight photographs of rooms and objects in the Society's museum. Photographs of Morgan L. Martin, Otto Tank, Patrick Henry,

George Morgan, and Peyton Randolph. Twenty-four photographs of portraits, buildings, etc., famous in Virginia history. View of Gov. Nelson Dewey's estate at Cassville. Large collection of views, chiefly of Cassville, Platteville, Potosi, Patch Grove, and Prairie du Chien; also of Mackinac Island.

Broadsides

Wisconsin Governor's Office, Madison. — Collection of proclamations of the governors of Wisconsin and of other states. (Under Chapter 676, Laws of 1907.)

Museum Accessions

(Gifts, save where otherwise specified. The report covers the year ending September 30, 1908.)

Art

George H. Hazzard, St. Paul. — Oil portrait of Hon. Robert Laird McCormick, President of State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1901–1903.

Mrs. William Jacobs and Mrs. Carl A. Johnson, Madison. — Framed oil portrait of the late Chief Justice John B. Cassoday, painted by James Reeve Stuart.

George C. Northrup, Madison. — (On deposit.) Original drawing by Michael Angelo.

Miss Georgiana R. Sheldon, Madison. — Collection of forty-five Braun photographs of oil portraits by Rembrandt Van Ryn.

Superintendent of Public Property, Madison. — Bracony's plaster sketch of Father Marquette, entered in competition for the state statue thereof, to be placed in the rotunda of the Federal capitol at Washington.

Anthropology

Miss Helen Blair, Madison. — Brass crucifix ornament, from Indian site near Neenah. (On deposit.) Igorot pouch from Lepanto-Bontoc, P. I.

William Borchers, Madison. — Two stone celts and an arrowpoint, from Borcher's Beach, Lake Mendota, Dane County.

Charles E. Brown, Madison. — Five pebble net-weights, Kenosha County; clay "brickets," Aztalan; catlinite, Barron County; three jewel points, Oregon; two shell ornaments, California; six wampum beads, Doty Island; Chippewa basswood bark rope and toggle game.

(On deposit.) Ogalala war bonnet, ceremonial wand, pipe and tobacco pouch, lizard amulet, Brulé pouches, work bag and squaw's leggins; Chippewa food bowl, man's and child's moccasins; collection illustrating the manufacture of flint implements, and including flint blocks, nodules, blanks, disks, spalls, flakes, chips, rejects, finished implements, caches, hammerstones, bone and antler flakers, photographs and drawings, a total

of nearly 500 specimens; two toy pottery vessels, Illinois; tripod bow from stone grave, New Madrid, Mo.; necklace, Copper River region, Alaska; series of implements and ornaments from a Potawatomi grave, Waukesha County; fluted stone axe, two arrowshaft grinders, two specimens illustrating aboriginal drilling in stone, tooth amulet, lead beads, collection of potsherds illustrating methods of ornamentation, all from Wisconsin sites, and two casts of barbed and fluted stone axes.

Chippewa Indians, Flambeau Reservation. — (Purchased.) Chief's leggins, dance rattle, doll moccasins, pouch, belt, birchbark basket, hanks of trade beads, basswood bark ties, maple sugar cones, net-maker's needle, vermillion paint, and several photographs.

Charles J. Deiker, Eureka, Ill.—Flint-scrapers, arrowpoints and potsherds, Illinois.

Mrs. F. H. Edsall, Madison.—Indian trade beads.

Dr. and Mrs. L. H. Fales, Madison.—Collection of Igorot materials from Lepanto-Bontoc, Luzon, P. I., including pocket hat, geestring, two breech cloths, woman's hat, waist and skirt, two ladles, nine spoons, three food bowls, copper kettle, rice basket, camote basket, earrings, two blankets, two pipes, four pouches, sounding stick, three spears, drum, and two images. The following materials representing the Ilocano and other Christianized tribes of Luzon: two pieces of matting, cocoanut husk raincoat, five hats, flatiron, three seed necklaces, whip, and horn. Straw hat from China, and a hat and shell necklace from Samoa. (On deposit.)

Mrs. Minerva Joslin Fargo, Lake Mills.—Buckskin bow case and quiver with bow and arrows, Apache Indians, Arizona.

Mrs. Bertha Gauthier, Lac du Flambeau.—Cedar bark wild rice pouch, medicines, and roll of deer sinew, from the Chippewa Indians.

H. V. Herd, Madison.—Three flint arrowpoints from camp site on Lake Monona, Dane County.

W. H. Hesse, Neenah.—Walrus skull, tusks engraved by Eskimo, Seward Peninsula, Alaska.

W. B. Hinsdale, Ann Arbor, Mich.—(On deposit.) Collection of Seneca Indian materials from the Cattaraugus Reservation, New York, including two wooden and a cornhusk mask and a turtle-shell rattle of the False-face Society, bark rattle, four carved wooden spoons, and a hominy basket. Collection of the following Chippewa specimens from Walpole Island, Canada: two woven bags, two wooden ladles, five carved wooden spoons, sap bucket, sap trough, and wooden bowl.

George M. Huss, Minneapolis, Minn.—Chippewa Indian spirit stone or manitou rock, known as "the Pipe of the Manitou," from Lake Chetac, Sawyer County.

E. Wells Kellogg, Milwaukee.—(On deposit.) Collection of seventeen pottery vessels, trowel, two images, shell spoons, shell beads, potsherds and skull from stone grave cemetery at Brown's Creek, near Nashville, Tenn. Pottery vessel from Santa Clara pueblo, Ariz.

Mrs. Geo. W. Kemp, Madison.—Buffalo shoulder blade penetrated by an iron arrowpoint, McPherson County, S. Dak.

William Ketcham, Gotham.—Grooved stone axe, Richland County.

Miscellaneous Accessions

Adolph Link, Madison.—Flint arrowpoint, Picnic Point, Lake Mendota.

W. J. Martin, Leon, Kans.—Flint scraper.

Me-dire-as-sung (Chippewa Chief), Flambeau.—Catnip medicine.

Clarence B. Moore, Philadelphia.—Collection of sixteen shell hoes, shell celt, shell bead, twenty-three pebble sinkers, three stone celts, twenty flint arrowpoints, and series of sixty-five ornamented potsherds from mounds and sites in ten counties in Florida; fifteen potsherds, ten flint arrowpoints, and blanks chiefly from mounds and sites along the Flint and Chattahoochie rivers, Georgia; forty-three potsherds, four flint arrowpoints, and shell beads from mounds and sites at Bon Secours Bay, near Moundville, and elsewhere in Alabama; stone celt and pottery disk from mounds on Blum Island, near Greenville, Mississippi, and an arrowpoint and potsherd from Beauport County. All of the above materials (a total of two hundred specimens), were obtained by the donor, an American archæologist of distinction, during recent researches conducted by him.

F. G. Mueller, Waunakee.—Two Indian skeletons from a mound at Borcher's Beach, Lake Mendota, Dane County. Marine shells (*marginella conoidalis*) found with the same.

North Dakota State Historical Society, Bismarck.—(Exchange.) Collection of stone and bone implements from a Mandan village site near Mandan City, N. Dak., including two hoes, two smoothers, polisher, knife, ten flint flakers, two hammerstones, two root diggers, five awls, two whetstones, two arrowshaft wrenches, squash knife, arrowshaft grinder, and two fragments of bracelets.

Emil Schmidt, Madison.—(On deposit.) Winnebago bow; collection of two stone celts, flint arrow and spearpoints, knives, blanks, and rejects from Madison sites, and two shell ornaments from Mississippi valley, in Wisconsin.

Paul A. Seifert, Gotham.—Collection of flint arrow and spearpoints, scrapers, knives, rejects, spalls, and hammerstone from village sites at Richland City.

Miss Flora I. Small, Oconomowoc.—Sprays of Maori fish-scale flowers, New Zealand.

Warren D. Smith, Manila, P. I.—(On deposit.) Collection of native materials from the Philippine Islands, including a Moro jacket and pantaloons, two sarongs, sash, priest's cap, two silver rings, brass tea-kettle, betelnut box, and lime box, all from Jolo and Mindanao; Bagobo beaded jacket and trousers, knife and belt, brass bracelet, and tooth brush from Mindanao; Igorot head-axe, shroud, and two clay pipes; Ilocano hat, and towel, piña cloth camisa, and panuela—all from Luzon—and a grass head-dress from the Batanes Islands.

Frederick Starr, Chicago.—(On deposit.) Six rude quartzite blanks from a stone age workshop on the road to Kiakongo, Congo Free State, West Africa. Photograph of the site.

G. H. Squier, Trempealeau.—Indian crania and bones, and other remains from the old Fort Perrot site, near Trempealeau.

United States National Museum, Washington, D. C.—Twelve plaster casts of Indian stone axes, ceremonial knives, ornaments, and amulets.

Charles R. Van Hise, Madison.— Grooved stone axe, arrowpoints, knives, and rejects, from Cape Ann, Mass.

Harold Wengler, Milwaukee.— Flint scraper from site on Lake Monona, Dane County.

Miss Florence Whistler, Lac du Flambeau.— Specimen of wild rice.

Miss Minnie M. Oakley, Madison.— Specimens of bark cloth (Kapa), Sandwich Islands.

William O'Brien, Madison.— (Purchased.) Three flint arrowpoints from Gorham place, Lake Wingra, Madison.

F. L. Phillips, Madison.— Three grooved stone mauls from near Bowdle, Edmunds County, S. Dak.

Thomas R. Roddy, Black River Falls.— (On deposit.) Collection of eleven Six Nations wampum belts, as follows: "Six Nations peace belt," "Six Nations two roads belt," "Captain Brant belt of 1750," "Red Jacket belt," "Five Nations war belt," "French peace belt," "Black Hawk belt," "French mission belt," "William Penn belt," "Six Nations war belt," and "Governor Denny belt of 1758." Several strings of council wampum, and clam shell from which wampum beads were made.

Collection of Wisconsin and Nebraska Winnebago Indian materials, including head-dress, hair roll, breech cloth, necklaces, moccasins, belts, garters, and other articles of dress and adornment; pipes, saddles, whips, lances, shield, bows, quiver, clubs, tomahawks, knife, whetstone, drum, scalp-lock, snowshoes, bags, pouches, mortars, food bowls, ladles, pothangers, matting, dance rattles, games, cradles, medicine man's outfit, and other articles employed by the tribe — a total of one hundred pieces.

Leslie Rowley, Madison.— Piece of drift copper, Fox's Bluff, Lake Mendota, Dane County. (On deposit.) Collection of twenty-eight flint arrow and spearpoints, from a village site near West Point, Lake Mendota, Dane County, and a Menomonee (?) buckskin pouch.

H. H. Willard, Mazomanie.— Potsherds from Indian village site on the Wisconsin River, near Mazomanie.

Wisconsin Archæological Society, Madison.— Collection of twenty-six terra cotta heads, and a clay "candlestick" from the site of the Pyramids of the sun and moon, Teotihuacan, Mexico. Collection of twelve Indian crania, including Aztec, Toltec, Mandan, Cree, Grosventre and Dakota. Also four skulls from Indian mounds and graves in Wisconsin and Missouri.

Jacob White (Bright Eyes), Kyle, S. Dak.— Ogalala red willow-bark tobacco.

Military History

J. H. Evans, Platteville.— Warrant on Confederate treasury, signed by J. A. Seddon, secretary of war, dated Nov. 28, 1864. Proclamation (broadside) to the inhabitants of Kentucky by Col. John H. Morgan, dated Aug. 22, 1862.

George Fairfield, Prairie du Chien.— "Housewife" carried by Union soldier in War of Secession.

Miscellaneous Accessions

H. P. Hamilton, Two Rivers.—Feather from the Wisconsin war eagle "Old Abe."

Mrs. M. M. Kartak, Oconomowoc.—Riding trunks worn by Frederic Pitzman, a volunteer soldier in Major von Luetzow's "Legion of Vengence," in the war against Napoleon, 1813-15.

O. G. Malde, Madison.—Sidelock of Springfield rifle plowed up in June, 1903, at Camp Randall, Madison.

Mrs. Diana Oakley, Madison.—Mess-kit combination knife, fork, and spoon, cap box and powder flask, from the War of Secession.

Le Roy Parkinson, Fox Lake.—Oak rocking chair from old Fort Winnebago, at Portage, Wisconsin.

Leslie Rowley, Madison.—(On deposit.) Sword with engraved inscription on the blade, probably of French colonial period, found near shore of Lake Wingra, in Madison.

Peter C. Schmitt, Madison.—Springfield rifle cartridge clip, used by insurgents against the American army of invasion, at Caloocan, P. I.

N. B. Van Slyke, Madison.—Cane made from an oak plank of Commodore Perry's flagship, "Lawrence," August 5, 1838.

Warren D. Smith, Manila, P. I.—Lime box from the scene of the battle between United States troops and Moros at the crater of Bud-Dajo, Jolo, P

Colonial, Revolutionary, and Pioneer History

L. R. Clausen, Milwaukee.—Piece of wooden rail laid and used on the Pine River Valley & Stevens Point Railway (narrow gauge), in 1875-76.

E. P. May, Fort Atkinson.—Stove made at Mishwaukee, Ind., in 1846, from iron dug that year at Maysville, Wis.

George W. Stoner, Madison.—Crochet night-cap and kerchief bag, of the year 1768.

Mrs. H. M. Stout, Edgerton.—Iron pothook.

Charles A. Van Velzer, Madison.—Painted window shades.

Numismatics, Currency, and Badges

James G. Albright, Grand Rapids, Mich.—(On deposit.) Bronze medal struck in honor of Isotta degli Atti, wife of Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta, 1446.

Theodore T. Brown, Madison.—William McKinley "sound money and protection" medal.

A. L. P. Dennis, Madison.—Chicago Clearing House Association certificate for one dollar, dated Nov. 11, 1907.

George Fairfield, Prairie du Chien.—Collection of paper money, much of it Confederate.

J. W. Hooker, Exland.—$20 Confederate States note.

Mrs. Moroney, Dallas, Tex.—Sheet of Confederate States $30 bonds; $2 Confederate States, Jordans Saline, Texas bank note; and $100 Confederate States bank note.

R. J. Meyers, Verona.— Gun metal, *spiel-münze*, Germany.

Leslie Rowley, Madison.— Spanish peso (scrip) from sunken Spanish ship in Manila harbor, Spanish-American War. (On deposit.) Collection of thirty-eight copper and silver American and foreign coins.

William J. Underwood, Chicago.— Bank of Madison scrip, 1862.

Wisconsin Archæological Society, Madison.— Silk badge of its Joint State Assembly, held at Baraboo, August 7–8, 1908.

Miscellaneous

John C. Beyler, Madison.— (On deposit.) Old Dutch Bible, which has been in the Deichler family since 1732.

Thomas M. Branton, Poynette.— Buffalo horn, Andover, Day County, S. Dak.

W. F. Dietrich, Madison.— San Francisco fire and earthquake relics.

Bertram Doyon Jr., Madison.— Claw of an eagle shot at Sitka, Alaska.

G. W. Northrup, Madison.— (On deposit.) Pair of old metal candlesticks, Cluny, France.

Mrs. A. W. Phillips, San Francisco.— Forks melted in the fire following the recent San Francisco earthquake.

Periodicals and Newspapers currently Received at the Library

[Corrected to *October 1, 1908*]

Periodicals

Academie Royale d'Archeologie de Belgique, Bulletin (q). Antwerp.
Academy (w). London.
Acadiensis (q). St. John, N. B.
Advance Advocate (m). St. Louis.
Advocate of Peace (m). Boston.
Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers Journal (m). Kansas City, Mo.
American Anthropologist (q). New York.
American Antiquarian (bi-m). Chicago.
American Antiquarian Society Proceedings, Worcester, Mass.
American Catholic Historical Researches (q). Philadelphia.
American Catholic Historical Society Record (q). Philadelphia.
American Catholic Quarterly Review. Philadelphia.
American Economic Association, Publications (q). New York.
American Economist (w). New York.
American Federationist (m). Washington.
American Geographical Society, Bulletin (m). New York.
American Historical Magazine (bi-m). New York.
American Historical Review (q). New York.
American Journal of Eugenics (m). Chicago.
American Journal of Theology (q). Chicago.
American Magazine (m). New York.
American Missionary (m). New York.
American Monthly Magazine. Washington.
American Museum Journal (irreg). New York.
American Philosophical Society Proceedings. Philadelphia.
American Pressman (m). St. Louis.
American School Board Journal (m). Milwaukee.
American Sugar Industry and Beet Sugar Gazette (s-m). Chicago.

American Thresherman (m). Madison.
Analecta Bollandiana (q). Brussels.
Annales de l'Academie Royal d'Arch. (irreg). Antwerp.
Annals of Iowa (q). Des Moines.
Annals of St. Joseph (m). West De Pere.
Antiquary (m). London.
Arena (m). Trenton, N. J.
Athenæum (w). London.
Atlantic Monthly. Boston.
Augustana (w). Rock Island, Ill.
Australian Official Journal of Patents (w). Melbourne.
B. C. Trades' Unionist (m). Vancouver.
Baltimore & Ohio Ry. Co., Relief Dept. Statement of Disbursements. (m). Baltimore.
Bates Bulletin (s-y). Austinburg, O.
Bible Society Record (m). New York.
Bibliotheca Sacra (q). Oberlin, Ohio.
Blacksmith's Journal (m). Chicago.
Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine (m).
Board of Trade Journal (m). Portland, Maine.
Board of Trade Labour Gazette (m). London.
Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia (m). Madrid.
Book Buyer (m). New York.
Bookman (m). New York.
Boston Ideas (w).
Boston Public Library, Monthly Bulletin.
Bricklayer and Mason (m). Indianapolis.
Bridgemen's Magazine (m). Indianapolis.
Brockton (Mass.) Public Library, Quarterly Bulletin.
Brookline (Mass.) Public Library, Bulletin (bi-m).
Brooklyn (N. Y.) Public Library, Bulletin (m).
Browning's Magazine (m). Milwaukee.
Buenos Ayres Monthly Bulletin of Municipal Statistics.
Bulletin (m). Nashville.
Bulletin des Recherches Historiques (m). Lévis, Quebec.
Bulletin of Atlanta University (m). Atlanta, Ga.
Bulletin of Bibliography (q). Boston.
Bulletin of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association of Milwaukee (m).
Bunte Blätter für die Kleinen (m). Milwaukee.
By the Wayside (m). Appleton.
California State Library News Notes (m). Sacramento.
Cambridge (Mass.) Public Library Bulletin (m).
Canadian Bookseller (m). Toronto.
Canadian Antiquarian (m). Montreal.
Canadian Magazine (m). Toronto.
Canadian Patent Office Record (m). Ottawa.
Car Worker (m). Chicago.
Carpenter (m). Indianapolis.

Periodicals Received

Case and Comment (m). Rochester, N. Y.
Catholic World (m). New York.
Century Magazine (m). New York.
Century Path (w). Point Loma, Cal.
Chamber's Journal (m). London and Edinburgh.
Charities and the Commons (w). New York.
Chautauquan (m). Springfield, Ohio.
Chicago, Statistics of City of (q).
Chicago Teachers' Federation Bulletin (w).
Church Building Quarterly. New York.
Church News (m). St. Louis.
Church Times (m). Milwaukee.
Cigar Makers' Official Journal (m). Chicago.
Cincinnati Public Library, Library Leaflet (m).
City Club Bulletin (w). Chicago.
Clarkson Bulletin (q). Potsdam, N. Y.
Cleveland Public Library, Open Shelf (q).
Cleveland Terminal & Valley Ry. Co., Relief Dept., Statement of Receipts and Disbursements (m).
Coast Seamen's Journal (w). San Francisco.
College Chips (m). Decorah, Iowa.
College Days (m). Ripon.
Collier's National Weekly. New York.
Colored American Magazine (m). New York.
Columbia University, Studies in Political Science (irreg). New York.
Commercial Telegraphers' Journal (m). Chicago.
Comptes-Rendus de l'Athénée Louisianais (m). New Orleans.
Connecticut Magazine (m). Hartford.
Conservation (m). Washington, D. C.
Contemporary Review (m). London.
Cook's American Travelers' Gazette (m). New York.
Coöperative Journal (w). Oakland, Cal.
Coopers' International Journal (m). Kansas City, Kans.
Co-partnership (m). London.
Cosmopolitan (m). New York.
Country Life in America (m). New York.
Craftsman (m). Syracuse.
Current Literature (m). New York.
Delineator (m). New York.
Delta Upsilon Quarterly. New York.
Demonstrator (s-m). Home, Wash.
Deseret Farmer (w). Salt Lake City.
Deutsch-Amerikanische Buchdrucker-Zeitung (s-m). Indianapolis.
Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter (q). Chicago.
Dial (s-m). Chicago.
District of Columbia. Library bulletin (m). Washington, D. C.
Dominion of Canada. Labour Gazette (m). Ottawa.
Dublin Review (q). London.

Dunn County School of Agriculture and Domestic Economy Bulletin (q). Menomonie.
Edinburgh Review (q).
Electrical Worker (m). Springfield, Ill.
Elevator Constructor (m). Philadelphia.
Eltradion (m). Manchester, Eng.
Empire Review (m). London.
English Historical Review (q). London.
Equity (m). Philadelphia.
Essex Antiquarian (q). Salem, Mass.
Essex Institute Historical Collections (q). Salem, Mass.
Evangelical Episcopalion (m). Chicago.
Evangeliets Sendebud (w). College View, Nebr.
Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinde-Blatt (s-m). Milwaukee.
Evangelisk Luthersk Kirketidende (w). Decorah, Iowa.
Everybody's Magazine (m). New York.
Exponent (m). St. Louis.
Fabian News (m). London.
Fairhaven (Mass.) Millicent Library Bulletin (bi-m).
Fame (m). New York.
Farmers Advocate (m). Topeka, Kans.
Filine Co-operative Association Echo (m). Boston.
Fitchburg (Mass.) Public Library Bulletin (bi-m).
Flaming Sword (m). Estero, Fla.
Fortnightly Review (m). London.
Forum (q). New York.
Free Russia (m). London.
Free Trade Broadside (q). Boston.
Friend and Guide (m). Neenah.
Friends' Intelligencer and Journal (w). Philadelphia.
Fruitman and Gardener (m). Mount Vernon, Iowa.
Furniture Worker (s-m). Cincinnati and Chicago.
Genealogical Exchange (m). Buffalo.
Genealogical Magazine (m). Boston.
Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, Publications (irreg). Philadelphia.
Genealogist (q). Exeter, Eng.
Geographical Journal (m). London.
Glass Worker (m). Chicago.
Globe Trotter (q). Milwaukee.
Good Government (m). New York.
Grand Rapids (Mich.) Ryerson Public Library Bulletin (q).
Granite Cutter's Journal (m). Quincy, Mass.
Granite Monthly, Concord, N. H.
Granite State Magazine (m). Manchester, N. H.
Harper's Magazine (m). New York.
Harper's Weekly, New York.
Hartford (Conn.) Library Bulletin (m).
Hartford (Conn.) Seminary Record (q).

Periodicals Received

Harvard University Calendar (w). Cambridge, Mass.
Haverhill (Mass.) Public Library Bulletin (bi-m).
Helping Hand (m). Chicago.
Herald of Gospel Liberty (w). Dayton, O.
Herald of the Cross (m). London.
Herald of the Golden Age (q). Paignton, Eng.
Hiram House Life (bi-m). Cleveland.
Historic Magazine and Notes and Queries (m). Manchester, N. H.
Hoard's Dairyman (w). Fort Atkinson.
Home Missionary (q). New York.
Home Visitor (m). Chicago.
House Beautiful (m). Chicago.
Hull House Bulletin (irreg). Chicago.
Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin (w). Springfield.
Illinois Historical Society, Journal (q). Springfield.
Illustrated London News (w). London.
Illustrated Official Journal (Patents) (w). London.
Improvement Era (m). Salt Lake City.
Independent (w). New York.
Independent Farmer (w). Lincoln, Nebr.
Index Library (q). Birmingham, Eng.
Indiana Bulletin of Charities and Correction (q). Indianapolis.
Indiana Public Library Commission (m). Indianapolis.
Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History. Indianapolis.
Indiana State Library Monthly Bulletin. Indianapolis.
Indian's Friend (m). New York.
International Bureau of American Republics, Monthly Bulletin. Washington.
International Good Templar (m). Milwaukee.
International Horseshoers Magazine (m). Denver.
International Molder's Journal (m). Cincinnati.
International Musician (m). St. Louis.
International Socialist Review (m). Chicago.
International Steam Engineer (m). Boston.
International Wood-Worker (m). Chicago.
Iowa Journal of History and Politics (q). Iowa City.
Iowa Masonic Library, Quarterly Bulletin. Cedar Rapids.
Iron Molders' Journal (m). Cincinnati.
Irrigation Age (m). Chicago.
Jersey City (N. J.) Public Library, Bulletin Library Record (bi-m).
Johnson Public Library, Quarterly Bulletin. Hackensack, N. J.
Journal of American Folk-Lore (q). Boston.
Journal of American History (m). New Haven.
Journal of Cincinnati Society of Natural History (q). Cincinnati.
Journal of Political Economy (q). Chicago.
Journal of the Franklin Institute (m). Philadelphia.
Journal of the Friends' Historical Society (q). London.

Journal of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, etc. (m). Kansas City, Kans.
Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society (m). Philadelphia.
Journal of the Switchmen's Union (m). Buffalo.
Journal of Zoöphily (m). Philadelphia.
Kansas City (Mo.) Public Library Quarterly.
Kentucky State Historical Society Register (tri-y). Frankfort.
Kinderfreude (m). Milwaukee.
Kingsley House Record (m). Pittsburgh.
Kristelige Talsmand (w). Chicago.
Lancaster County (Pa.) Historical Society Papers (m). Lancaster.
Landman (w). Milwaukee.
Lather (m). Cleveland.
Leather Workers' Journal (m). Kansas City, Mo.
Lebanon Co. Historical Society Papers (irreg). Lebanon, Pa.
Letters on Brewing (q). Milwaukee.
Lewisiana (m). Guilford, Conn.
Liberia (s-y). Washington.
Library (q). London.
Library Journal (m). New York.
Library Work (irreg). Minneapolis.
Life and Light for Women (m). Boston.
Light (bi-m). La Crosse.
Literary Digest (w). New York.
Littell's Living Age (w). Boston.
Living Church (w). Milwaukee.
Locomotive Engineers Journal (m). Cleveland.
Locomotive Firemen and Engineers Journal (m). Indianapolis.
Luther League Review (m). New York.
Lutheran (w). Lebanon and Philadelphia.
Lutheran Church Review (q). Philadelphia.
Lutheraneren (w). Minneapolis.
McClure's Magazine (m). New York.
Machinists' Monthly Journal. Washington, D. C.
Magazine of History (m). New York.
Maine State Board of Health Bulletin (bi-m). Augusta.
Manchester (Eng.) Literary and Philosophical Society, Memoirs and Proceedings (tri-y).
Manitoba Gazette (w). Winnipeg.
Marathon County, School of Agriculture and Domestic Economy, Bulletin (q). Wausau.
Maryland Historic Magazine (q). Baltimore.
Masonic Tidings (m). Milwaukee.
Massachusetts Labor Bulletin (m). Boston.
Mayflower Descendant (q). Boston.
Medford (Mass.) Historical Register (q).
Mercury (m). East Div. High School, Milwaukee.
Methodist Review (bi-m). Cincinnati and New York.

Periodicals Received

Methodist Review (South) (q). Nashville, Tenn.
Michigan Dairy and Food Dept., Bulletin (m). Lansing.
Midland (m). Cincinnati.
Milton (Wis). College Review (m).
Milwaukee Health Department Monthly Report.
Milwaukee Medical Journal (m).
Milwaukee Public Library, Quarterly Index of Additions.
Miners' Magazine (w). Denver.
Missionary Herald (m). Boston.
Missouri Historical Review (q). Columbia.
Missouri Historical Society Collections (q). St. Louis.
Mitteilungen aus der Historischen Literatur (irreg). Berlin.
Mixed Stocks (m). Chicago.
Mixer and Server (m). Cincinnati.
Monona Lake Quarterly. Madison.
Mother Earth (m). New York.
Motor (m). Madison.
Motorman and Conductor (m). Detroit.
Municipality (m). Madison.
Munsey's Magazine (m). New York.
Mystic Worker (m). Mount Morris, Ill.
Nashua (N. H.) Public Library Quarterly Bulletin.
Nation (w). New York.
National Ass'n of Wool Manufacturers, Bulletin (q). Boston.
National Bulletin of Charities and Correction (q). Chicago.
National Co-operator and Farm Journal (w). Fort Worth, Texas.
National Glass Budget (w). Pittsburgh.
National Review (m). London.
New Bedford (Mass.) Public Library Bulletin (m).
New England Family History Quarterly. New York.
New England Historical and Genealogical Register (q). Boston.
New England Magazine (m). Boston.
New Hampshire Genealogical Record (q). Dover.
New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings. Paterson.
New Philosophy (q). Lancaster, Pa.
New York Dept. of Labor Bulletin (q). New York.
New York Genealogical and Biographical Record (q). New York.
New York Mercantile Library Bulletin (y). New York.
New York Public Library Bulletin (m). New York.
New York State Department of Health, Monthly Bulletin. Albany.
New York Times Saturday Review (w). New York.
New Zealand Journal of the Department of Labour (m). Wellington.
New Zealand Parliamentary Debates (m). Wellington.
Newark (N. J.) Free Public Library, Library News (m).
Nineteenth Century (m). London.
Norden (m). Racine.
North American Review (m). New York.
North Carolina Booklet (m). Raleigh.

North Dakota Magazine (m). Bismarck.
Northwestern Miller (w). Minneapolis.
Notes and Queries (m). London.
Notes and Queries (m). Manchester, N. H.
Nouvelle-France (m). Quebec.
Ny Tid (m). Minneapolis.
Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly. Columbus.
Ohio Bulletin of Charities and Corrections (q). Columbus.
Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society Quarterly. Cincinnati.
Ohio Illustrated Magazine (m). Columbus.
Old Continental (bi-m). Des Moines.
"Old Northwest" Genealogical Quarterly. Columbus.
Olde Ulster (m). Kingston, N. Y.
Omaha (Nebr.) Public Library Bulletin (irreg).
Open Court (m). Chicago.
Open Shelf. Cleveland Public Library (q).
Oregon Historical Society Quarterly. Portland.
Our Day (m). Chicago.
Our Journal. Organ of Metal Polishers, etc. (m). Cincinnati.
Our Young People (m). Milwaukee.
Our West (m). Los Angeles.
Outing (m). New York.
Outlook (w). New York.
Overland Monthly. San Francisco.
Owl (q). Kewaunee.
Painter and Decorator (m). La Fayette, Ind.
Pattern Makers' Journal (m). Cincinnati.
Pasadena (Cal.) Public Library, Monthly Bulletin.
Pedigree Register (q). London.
Pennsylvania German (bi-m). Lebanon, Pa.
Pennsylvania Magazine of History (q). Philadelphia.
Philadelphia Free Library Monthly List of Selected Documents.
Philadelphia Library Company, Bulletin (s-y).
Philippine Islands, Bureau of Health, Quarterly Report. Manila.
Philippine Weather Bureau, Bulletin (m). Manila.
Philosopher (m). Wausau.
Piano Workers' Official Journal (m). Chicago.
Pilgrim (m). Battle Creek, Mich.
Pittsburgh & Western Ry. Co., Relief Dept., Statement of Receipts and Disbursements (m).
Pittsburgh, Carnegie Library, Monthly Bulletin.
Pittsfield (Mass.) Berkshire Athenæum, Quarterly Bulletin.
Plumbers', Gas and Steam Fitters' Official Journal (m). Chicago.
Political Science Quarterly. Boston.
Postal Clerk (m). Chicago.
Postal Record (m). Washington, D. C.
Practical Politics (m). Boston.
Pratt Institute Free Library, Monthly Bulletin, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Periodicals Received

Princeton Theological Review (q). Philadelphia.
Providence (R. I.) Public Library, Quarterly Bulletin.
Public (w). Chicago.
Public Health, Michigan (q). Lansing.
Public Libraries (m). Chicago.
Publishers' Circular and Booksellers' Record (w). London.
Publishers' Weekly. New York.
Putnam's Monthly and the Critic. New York.
Quarterly Publication of the Historical & Philosophical Society of Ohio. Cincinnati.
Quarterly Review. London.
Queen's Quarterly. Kingston, Ont.
Quest (m). Lafayette, Colo.
Quincy (Ill.) Public Library Bulletin (q).
Railroad Telegrapher (m). St. Louis.
Railroad Trainmen's Journal (m). Cleveland.
Railway Carmen's Journal (m). Kansas City.
Railway Clerk (m). Kansas City.
Railway Conductor (m). Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature and Cumulative Index (m). Minneapolis.
Recherches Historiques (m). Lévis, Canada.
Records of the Past (m). Washington.
Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist (q). London.
Retail Clerks' International Advocate (m). St. Joseph, Mo.
Review. National Founders' Association (m). Detroit.
Review of Reviews (m). New York.
Révue Canadienne (m). Montreal.
Révue Historique de la Question Louis XVII (bi-m). Paris.
Rodina (w). Racine.
Round Table (m).Beloit .
Royal Purple (m). Whitewater.
Sabbath Recorder (m). Plainfield, N. J.
Sailors' Magazine (m). New York.
St. Andrew's Cross (m). Boston.
Salem (Mass.) Public Library Bulletin (m).
San Francisco Public Library Bulletin (m).
Saturday Evening Post (w). Philadelphia.
Scandinavisk Farmer-Journal (s-m). Minneapolis.
School Board Journal (m). Milwaukee.
Scottish Geographical Magazine (m). Edinburgh.
Scottish Historical Review (q). Glasgow.
Scottish Record Society (q). Edinburgh.
Scranton (Pa.) Public Library, Bulletin (q).
Scribner's Magazine (m). New York.
Sewanee Review (q). New York.
Shingle Weaver (m). Everett, Wash.
Shoe Workers' Journal (m). Boston.

Single Tax Review (q). New York.
Social Democrat (m). London.
Socialist Woman (m). Chicago.
Somerville (Mass.) Library Bulletin (m).
South Atlantic Quarterly. Durham, N. C.
South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine (q). Charleston.
South Dakota Congregationalist (m). Huron.
Southern History Association, Publications (bi-m). Washington.
Southern Letter (m). Tuskegee, Ala.
Southern Voice (m). Denmark, S. C.
Spirit of Missions (m). New York.
Springfield (Mass.) City Library, Bulletin (irreg).
Square Deal (m). Battle Creek, Mich.
Standard (w). Chicago.
Steam Shovel and Dredge (m). Chicago.
Stone-cutters' Journal (m). Washington.
Stove Workers' Journal (m). Detroit.
Student Farmer (m). Madison.
Sunset Magazine (m). San Francisco.
Tailor (m). Bloomington, Ill.
Team Owners' Review (m). Pittsburgh.
Teamsters' Official Magazine (m). Indianapolis.
Temperance (q). New York.
Temperance Cause (m). Boston.
Texas State Historical Association Quarterly. Austin.
Theologische Quartalshrift. Milwaukee.
Tobacco Worker (m). Louisville, Ky.
Tradesman (s-m). Chattanooga, Tenn.
Travelers' Railway Guide (m). New York and Chicago.
Typographical Journal (m). Indianapolis.
Union Labor Advocate (m). Chicago.
Union Postal Clerk (m). Chicago.
United States, Congress: Congressional Record.
United States Department of Agriculture:
    Climate and Crop Service, Wisconsin Section (w and m).
    Crop Reporter (m).
    Experiment Station Record (m).
    Library Bulletin (q).
    Monthly Weather Review.
United States, Department of Commerce and Labor:
    Bulletin of Bureau of Labor (bi-m).
    Bulletin of the Census.
    Monthly Consular and Trade Reports.
    Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance.
United States, Library of Congress:
    Copyright Entries (w).
United States, Patent Office:
    Official Gazette (w).

Periodicals Received

United States, Smithsonian Institution, Miscellaneous collections (q).
United States, Superintendent of Documents:
Monthly Catalogue of U. S. Public Documents.
United States, Treasury Department:
Public Health Reports (w).
Treasury Decisions (w).
United States, War Department. Bureau of Insular Affairs:
Summary of Commerce of the Philippine Islands.
Universal Engineer (m). New York.
University Settlement Studies (q). New York.
Up to Date Farming (w). Indianapolis.
Vanguard (m). Milwaukee.
Views (m). Washington.
Virginia Magazine of History and Biography (q). Richmond.
Warren County Library Bulletin (q). Monmouth, Ill.
Washington Historical Quarterly. Seattle.
Weekly Bulletin of the Clothing Trade. New York.
Westminster Review (m). London.
Wilkes-Barré (Pa.) Osterhout Free Library, Bulletins (m).
William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine. Williamsburg, Va.
Wisconsin Alumni Magazine (m). Madison.
Wisconsin Archæologist (q). Milwaukee.
Wisconsin Citizen (m). Brodhead.
Wisconsin Baptist (q). Wauwatosa.
Wisconsin Congregational Church Life (m). Beloit.
Wisconsin Farmer (w). Madison.
Wisconsin Free Library Commission, Bulletin (m). Madison.
Wisconsin Journal of Education (m). Madison.
Wisconsin Library Bulletin (bi-m). Madison.
Wisconsin Medical Journal (m). Milwaukee.
Wisconsin Medical Recorder (m). Janesville.
Wisconsin Natural History Society Bulletin (q). Milwaukee.
Woman's Tribune (bi-w). Portland, Oregon.
Woman's Work (m). New York.
World Today (m). Chicago.
World's Work (m). New York.
Yellow Journal (bi-m). Madison.
Young Churchman (w). Milwaukee.
Young Eagle (m). Sinsinawa.
Zeitschrift für Ethnologie (s-m). Berlin, Germany.
Zukunft (m). New York.

Wisconsin Newspapers

Albany — Albany Vindicator.
Algoma — Algoma Record.
Alma — Buffalo County Journal.
Alma Center — Alma Center News.
Antigo — Antigo Herald; Antigo Republican; News Item.
Appleton — Appleton Crescent (d); Appleton Post; Appleton Volksfreund Fox River Journal; Gegenwart; Montags-Blatt.
Arcadia — Leader.
Ashland — Ashland News (d); Ashland Press.
Augusta — Eagle.
Baldwin — Baldwin Bulletin.
Baraboo — Baraboo News; Baraboo Republic; Sauk County Democrat.
Barron — Barron County Shield.
Bayfield — Bayfield County Press.
Beaver Dam — Beaver Dam Argus; Dodge County Citizen.
Belleville — Belleville Recorder.
Beloit — Beloit Free Press (d).
Benton — Benton Advocate.
Berlin — Berlin Journal.
Black Creek — Black Creek Times.
Black River Falls — Badger State Banner; Jackson County Journal.
Bloomer — Bloomer Advance.
Bloomington — Bloomington Record.
Boscobel — Boscobel Dial-Enterprise; Boscobel Sentinel.
Brandon — Brandon Times.
Brodhead — Brodhead Independent; Brodhead Register.
Bruce — Bruce News Letter.
Burlington — Standard Democrat.
Cambria — Cambria News.
Campbellsport — Campbellsport News.
Cashton — Cashton Record.
Cassville — Cassville Index.
Cedarburg — Cedarburg News.
Centuria — Centuria Outlook.
Chetek — Chetek Alert.
Chilton — Chilton Times.
Chippewa Falls — Catholic Sentinel; Chippewa Times; Herald.
Clinton — Rock County Banner.
Colby — Phonograph.
Crandon — Forest Echo.
Cumberland — Cumberland Advocate.
Dale — Dale Recorder.
Darlington — Darlington Democrat; Republican-Journal.
De Forest — De Forest Times.
Delavan — Delavan Enterprise; Delavan Republic; Wisconsin Times (bi-w).

De Pere — Brown County Democrat; De Pere News.
Dodgeville — Dodgeville Chronicle; Dodgeville Sun-Republic.
Durand — Entering Wedge; Pepin County Courier.
Eau Claire — Eau Claire Leader (d); Telegram (d).
Edgerton — Wisconsin Tobacco Reporter.
Elkhorn — Elkhorn Independent.
Ellsworth — Pierce County Herald.
Elroy — Elroy Tribune.
Evansville — Enterprise; Evansville Review.
Fairchild — Fairchild Observer.
Fall River — New Era.
Fennimore — Fennimore Times.
Florence — Florence Mining News.
Fond du Lac — Commonwealth (d); Reporter (d).
Fort Atkinson — Jefferson County Union.
Fountain City — Alma Blætter; Buffalo County Republikaner.
Frederic — Frederic Star.
Friendship — Adams County Press.
Glenwood — Glenwood Tribune.
Grand Rapids — Wood County Reporter.
Grantsburg — Burnett County Sentinel; Journal of Burnett County.
Green Bay — Green Bay Gazette (s-w); Green Bay Review.
Greenwood — Greenwood Gleaner.
Hancock — Hancock News.
Hartford — Hartford Press (s-w).
Hudson — Hudson Star-Times; True Republican.
Hurley — Montreal River Miner.
Independence — Independence News Wave.
Janesville — Janesville Gazette (d); Recorder and Times.
Jefferson — Jefferson Banner.
Juneau — Independent; Juneau Telephone.
Kaukauna — Kaukauna Sun; Kaukauna Times.
Kenosha — Kenosha News (d); Kenosha Union; Telegraph-Courier.
Kewaunee — Kewaunee County Banner; Kewaunee Enterprise; Kewaunské Listy.
Kilbourn — Kilbourn Events; Mirror-Gazette.
La Crosse — Herold and Volksfreund; La Crosse Argus; La Crosse Chronicle (d); La Crosse Leader-Press (d); Nord-Stern; Nord-stern Blätter; Volks-Post.
Ladysmith — Rusk County Journal.
Lake Geneva — Herald; Lake Geneva News.
Lake Mills — Lake Mills Leader.
Lake Nebagamon — Star Enterprise.
Lancaster — Grant County Herald (s-w); Teller.
Loyal — Loyal Tribune.
Madison — Amerika; Cardinal (d); Madison Democrat (d); Madisonian; State; Wisconsin Botschafter; Wisconsin Staats-Zeitung; Wisconsin State Journal (d).

Manitowoc — Manitowoc Citizen; Manitowoc Herald (d); Manitowoc Pilot; Manitowoc Post; Nord-Westen; Wahrheit.
Marinette — Eagle-Star (d); Förposten.
Marshfield — Marshfield Times.
Mattoon — Mattoon Times.
Mauston — Juneau County Chronicle; Mauston Star.
Medford — Taylor County Star-News; Waldbote.
Menomonie — Dunn County News; Menomonie Times.
Merrill — Merrill Advocate; Wisconsin Thalbote.
Merrillan — Wisconsin Leader.
Middleton — Middleton Times-Herald.
Milton Junction — Telephone.
Milwaukee — Catholic Citizen; Columbia; Evening Wisconsin (d); Excelsior; Germania (s-w); Kuryer Polski (d); Milwaukee Free Press (d); Milwaukee Germania-Abendpost (d); Milwaukee Herold (d); Milwaukee Journal (d); Milwaukee News (d); Milwaukee Sentinel (d); Seebote (s-w); Social Democratic Herald; Sontags-Bote; Vorwärtz; Wahrheit; Wisconsin Banner and Volksfreund.
Mineral Point — Iowa County Democrat; Mineral Point Tribune.
Minocqua — Minocqua Times.
Mondovi — Mondovi Herald.
Monroe — Journal-Gazette; Monroe Journal (d); Monroe Sentinel (s-w); Monroe Times (d).
Montello — Montello Express.
Mount Horeb — Mount Horeb Times.
Muscoda — Grant County Democrat.
Necedah — Necedah Republican.
Neillsville — Neillsville Times; Republican and Press.
Nekoosa — Wood County Times.
New Lisbon — New Lisbon Times.
New London — New London Republican; Press.
New Richmond — New Richmond News (s-w).
Oconomowoc — Oconomowoc Enterprise; Wisconsin Free Press.
Oconto — Enquirer; Oconto County Reporter.
Oconto Falls — Oconto Falls Herald.
Omro — Omro Herald; Omro Journal.
Oregon — Oregon Observer.
Osceola — Osceola Sun.
Oshkosh — Dienstag-Blatt; Northwestern (d); Wisconsin Telegraph.
Palmyra — Palmyra Enterprise.
Peshtigo — Peshtigo Times.
Phillips — Bee; Phillips Times.
Plainfield — Sun.
Platteville — Grant County News; Platteville Witness and Mining Times.
Plymouth — Plymouth Reporter; Plymouth Review.
Portage — Portage Democrat; Wisconsin State Register.
Port Washington — Port Washington Star; Port Washington Zeitung.
Poynette — Poynette Press.

Newspapers Received

Prairie du Chien—Courier; Crawford County Press; Prairie du Chien Union.

Prentice—Prentice Calumet.

Prescott—Prescott Tribune.

Racine—Racine Correspondent; Racine Journal; Racine Times (d); Slavie (s-w); Wisconsin Agriculturist.

Reedsburg—Reedsburg Free Press; Reedsburg Times.

Rhinelander—Rhinelander Herald; Vindicator.

Rice Lake—Rice Lake Chronotype; Rice Lake Leader.

Richland Center—Republican Observer; Richland Rustic.

Rio—Badger Blade.

Ripon—Ripon Commonwealth; Ripon Press.

River Falls—River Falls Journal.

Shawano—Shawano County Advocate; Volksbote-Wochenblatt.

Sheboygan—National Demokrat (s-w); Sheboygan Herald; Sheboygan Telegram (d); Sheboygan Zeitung (s-w).

Sheboygan Falls—Sheboygan County News.

Shell Lake—Shell Lake Watchman; Washburn County Register.

Shiocton—Shiocton News.

Shullsburg—Pick and Gad.

Soldiers Grove—Kickapoo Scout.

South Wayne—Homestead.

Sparta—Monroe County Democrat; Sparta Herald.

Spring Green—Home News.

Spring Valley—Spring Valley Sun.

Stanley—Stanley Republican.

Stevens Point—Gazette; Stevens Point Journal.

Stoughton—Stoughton Courier; Stoughton Hub.

Sturgeon Bay—Advocate; Door County Democrat.

Sun Prairie—Sun Prairie Countryman.

Superior—Leader-Clarion; Superior Telegram (d); Superior Tidende.

Thorp—Thorp Courier.

Tomah—Tomah Journal.

Tomahawk—Tomahawk.

Trempealeau—Trempealeau Gazette; Trempealeau Herald.

Two Rivers—Chronicle; Reporter.

Union Grove—Union Grove Enterprise.

Viola—Intelligencer.

Viroqua—Vernon County Censor; Viroqua Republican.

Washburn—Washburn Times.

Waterford—Waterford Post.

Waterloo—Waterloo Democrat.

Watertown—Watertown Gazette; Watertown Leader; Watertown Weltbürger.

Waukesha—Waukesha Dispatch (s-w); Waukesha Freeman.

Waunakee—Waunakee Index.

Waupaca—Waupaca Post; Waupaca Record; Waupaca Republican.

Waupun—Waupun Leader.

Wausau — Central Wisconsin; Deutsche Pioneer; Wausau Pilot; Wausau Record-Herald (d).
Wautoma — Waushara Argus.
Welcome — Welcome Independent.
West Bend — West Bend News; West Bend Pilot.
Whitewater — Whitewater Gazette; Whitewater Register.
Wilmot — Agitator.
Wonewoc — Wonewoc Reporter.

Other Newspapers

ALABAMA.
Birmingham — Labor Advocate.
Fairhope — Fairhope Courier.

CALIFORNIA.
Los Angeles — Citizen; Common Sense; Los Angeles Express (d); Los Angeles Herald (d); Los Angeles Times (d).
Oakland — World.
San Francisco — San Francisco Chronicle (d); Star.

COLORADO.
Denver — Rocky Mountain News.
Lamar — Prowers County News.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.
Washington — Journal of the Knights of Labor; Trades Unionist; Washington Post (d).

GEORGIA.
Atlanta — Atlanta Constitution (d).
Union City — Farmers' Union News.

ILLINOIS.
Chicago — Bakers' Journal; Chicago-Posten; Chicago Record-Herald (d); Chicago Socialist (d); Chicago Tribune (d); Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung (d); Christian Socialist; Courier Franco-American; Dziennik Ludowy (d); Fackel; Folke-Vennen; Hemlandet; Industrial Union Bulletin; Jewish Labor World (Hebrew); Neues Leben; People's Press; Propaganda; Skandinaven (d and s-w); Socialist Party (m); Svenska Amerikanaren; Union Leader; Vorbote.
Decatur — Decatur Labor World.
Galesburg — Galesburg Labor News.
Quincy — Quincy Labor News.

Newspapers Received

INDIANA.
Indianapolis — Union; United Mine Workers' Journal.

IOWA.
Cedar Falls — Dannevirke.
Decorah — Decorah-Posten (s-w).

KANSAS.
Girard — Appeal to Reason.

LOUISIANA.
New Orleans — Times Democrat.

MARYLAND.
Baltimore — Labor Leader.

MASSACHUSETTS.
Boston — Boston Transcript (d).
Groton — Groton Landmark.
Holyoke — Artisan; Biene.
Worcester — Labor News.

MICHIGAN.
Detroit — Herold; Michigan Union Advocate; Volkstern.

MINNESOTA.
Duluth — Labor World.
Minneapolis — Folkebladet; Minneapolis Tidende; Ugebladet.
St. Paul — Minnesota Stats Tidning; Minnesota Union Advocate; Pioneer Press (d); Twin City Guardian.

MISSOURI.
St. Louis — Arbeiter-Zeitung: Labor Compendium; St. Louis Globe-Democrat (d); St. Louis Labor.

NEBRASKA.
Omaha — Danske Pioneer; Western Laborer.

NEW JERSEY.
Trenton — Trades Union Advocate.
West Hoboken — Socialist Review.

NEW MEXICO.
Santa Fé — New Mexican Review.

NEW YORK.

Brooklyn — Eagle (d).

Buffalo — Arbeiter-Zeitung; Buffalo Republic; Progress.

Jamestown — Union Advocate.

New York — Arbeiter (Hebrew); Arbitaren; City Record (d); Forward (Hebrew); Freiheit; Journal of Commerce (d); New York Call (d); New York Socialist; New York Tribune (d); New Yorker Volkszeitung (d); People; Truth Seeker; Vorwärts; Zeit-Geist (Hebrew).

Syracuse — Industrial Weekly.

Utica — Utica Advocate.

NORTH DAKOTA.

Grand Forks — Normanden.

OHIO.

Cincinnati — Brauer-Zeitung; Chronicle.

Cleveland — Cleveland Citizen; Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung; Volksfreund und Arbeiter Zeitung.

East Liverpool — Potters' Herald.

Zanesville — Labor Journal.

OREGON.

Portland — Oregonian (d).

PENNSYLVANIA.

Charleroi — Union des Travailleurs.

Lancaster — Labor Leader.

Philadelphia — Proletario.

Pittsburgh — Amalgamated Journal; Commoner and Glassworker; Labor World; National Labor Tribune.

Wilkes-Barré — Industrial Gazette.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Charleston — News and Courier.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Sioux Falls — Fremad.

TEXAS.

Dallas — Laborer.

UTAH.

Salt Lake City — Deseret News (d); Tribune (s-w).

Newspapers Received

VERMONT.
Rutland — Vermont Union Signal.

WASHINGTON.
Parkland — Pacific Herald.
Seattle — Seattle Union Record; Socialist.

WEST VIRGINIA.
Huntington — Review.

AUSTRALIA.
Broken Hill — Barrier Truth.
Melbourne — Socialist.
Sydney — Worker.

CANADA.
Montreal — Gazette (d).
Toronto — Mail and Empire (d).
Vancouver — Western Clarion.
Victoria — Colonist (s-w).

ENGLAND.
London — Justice; Labour Leader; Times.

FRANCE.
Paris — Socialisme; Socialiste.

GERMANY.
Frankfort — Frankfurter Zeitung.

MEXICO.
Mexico City — Modern Mexico.

Report of Green Bay Historical Society

In the report of this Society for the year 1907 mention was made of the efforts of the South Side Improvement Association and of this Society, to save from destruction the old Porlier house, better known as the "Tank cottage."

Representatives of both societies appeared before the city council and secured an appropriation of $350 for the removal of the old building to Union Park, on the west side. Late in the autumn of 1907 a contract was made with a firm of movers, to transfer the cottage to its destined site. Work was commenced immediately but progressed slowly, due partly to the unfortunate disposition of the contractors and partly to the infirmities of the old structure itself. When it was raised from its foundation—or, we should more accurately say, lack of foundation—it displayed a most exasperating disposition to collapse. It was only by heroic efforts that it was braced up sufficiently to be moved a few hundred feet before winter prevented further work.

With the coming of warm weather in the spring of 1908, it started again on its perilous journey—perilous because of the roughness of the road and the weakness, from old age, of the structure itself. For a time it looked as though it would not withstand another pull; but it reached the South Broadway railroad crossing safely, and was there again "held up" for two or three months. Finally, one midnight, it was rushed across the tracks, at imminent peril, and continued to its chosen site in Union Park. Here, we take pleasure in reporting, it now rests, plumb and square, on a good stone foundation, comparatively secure from further injury.

It has, for many years, been supposed that the Tank cottage was built of logs; but an inspection of the building after it was raised from the ground, disclosed the fact that it was constructed of very roughly-sawn timbers and boarding, the boards being very wide and of a remarkably good quality, the spaces between the upright timbers and the inner and outer walls being filled with brush and "pugged" with clay. We do not consider, however, that the fact of its being built of sawed timber instead of logs in any way mitigates against its antiquity. The sawed material was most probably obtained between 1794 and 1796 from the sawmill erected by Jacob Franks, on Devil River, about three miles east of De Pere. It was purchased afterwards by John Lawe.

This was the first mill to be built in Wisconsin. Its site was discovered three or four years ago by the president of this Society, the embankment of the dam and sluiceway being still plainly visible. Augustin Grignon, in his *Recollections,*[1] speaks of this old mill as being in existence in 1809, and as one which had been "very useful for many years." Its site is also indicated on the plat of private claims accompanying the report of the commissioners appointed by Congress to adjust the land claims at Green Bay, written in 1821.

The "Tank cottage" was situated on private claim 7 west, which was confirmed to Jacques Porlier in 1821. The affidavit used in support of Porlier's claim, made by Joseph Roi, states that he (Roi) had resided upon and cultivated the land for about forty-five years prior to 1821, and that his claim had been transferred to Porlier. The main part of the "Tank cottage" was built by Roi, but was much altered and enlarged by both Porlier and Tank.

A meeting of the Society was held October 21, 1908, in the assembly room of the Kellogg Public Library, at which time a resolution was adopted, providing for the appointment of a committee to co-operate with the South Side Improvement Association in procuring funds for the restoration of the "Tank cottage." The president appointed as such committee, Mrs. F. T. Blesch, Mrs. W. P. Wagner, and Dr. R. H. Sweetman.

A resolution was also adopted, providing for the appointment of a committee of three to arrange for the erection of a tablet

[1] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii.

to mark the site of old Fort Howard, the English Fort Edward Augustus, and the French post of La Baye. All of which, in the inverse order in which they are here named, successively occupied the same site continuously from about 1718. The committee are to confer with the officials of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway Company, the tracks of which now cover the site of the old forts, and obtain if possible their consent and co-operation in procuring and placing a suitable tablet on the site. The president appointed as such committee, Mr. James H. Elmore, Miss Sarah G. Martin, and Mrs. William Luckenbach.

A very interesting and instructive lecture was delivered by Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites, on "Men and manners in colonial times," illustrated by lantern slides. The assembly room was filled to its capacity by an appreciative and discriminating audience, and he was listened to with close attention and evident pleasure. The Society feels much indebted to Dr. Thwaites, and expressed its appreciation by a resolution unanimously adopted.

Thanks are also due to Professor Brown for the use of his lantern, and to Mr. George Lewis for the excellent manner in which the pictures were thrown upon the screen.

ARTHUR C. NEVILLE,
President.

GREEN BAY, November 7, 1908.

Report of Manitowoc County Historical Society

The Manitowoc County Historical Society is congratulating itself on another season of work successfully accomplished, and a fourth year's programme already arranged. With its four winter meetings each year, well attended, and interest being constantly manifested in its work by the general public, it feels that it is doing a great deal to keep alive the traditions and truths of the local past.

On November 21, 1907, A. H. Lohmann of Two Rivers gave a most interesting lecture on the history of Two Rivers. As Two Rivers is the second largest town in the county, there is much in its early records of interest. The paper, well prepared and most intelligently delivered, was well received. It was later printed in serial form, in the *Manitowoc County Chronicle,* of Two Rivers, and thus is preserved in a permanent form in the local libraries.

On January 28, 1908, the annual business session of the Society occurred, and the officers who have held their positions since the establishment of the Society were re-elected. The interest manifested in the work by Judge Emil Baensch, the president, compelled him to forego any desire he may have had to be relieved of the duties of his office, and to continue them for a year longer.

On February 6, Prof. M. Hale Smith of Brillion gave his lecture, "The Pioneer Boy." Mr. Smith was born in England, but spent his boyhood in the wilds of northern Manitowoc County, so his tale was replete with interesting local applications. A large audience was present, and he was assisted by the Training School chorus in reproducing the pioneer songs with which his lecture was illustrated.

On April 10 the Society was fortunate in securing Prof. A. A. Veblen, of the Iowa State University, to speak before it on the "Norwegian Element in Manitowoc County Immigration." This gentleman also spent his early years in the county, and had made a scientific study of the family history of the early Norwegian pioneers.

The year's work was marked by a revival of interest, also, in the Indian burial grounds of the vicinity. During the visit of Dr. La Counte, a pioneer long since removed from the county, the grave of Waumegesako, the chief of the mixed tribes located at Manitowoc before white men came, was located. On September 18, Benjamin Y. Mexico, the son of the dead chief, paid a visit to the Society, at its request, and was formally interviewed by the president and his co-laborers in the presence of the newspaper men of the city. The tall, stalwart old Indian was well versed in the lore of his tribe and seemed to enjoy to the utmost this visit to the scenes of his childhood. By his testimony much original evidence as to family relationships, movements of the tribes, etc., was gathered. Mexico remained in the city a little over a day, during which time he was received by all of the city officials and prominent citizens, and much of his story was retold in the columns of the local press. For the year 1908–09 four papers have already been prepared, and a helpful programme is anticipated.

R. G. Plumb,
Secretary.

Manitowoc, October 10, 1908.

Report of Ripon Historical Society

The Ripon Historical Society has had an uneventful year. Its quiet work has gone on, however, and some additions have from time to time been made to its collections. But one meeting has been held during the past year, being a combined social and historical gathering, at the home of the secretary and his wife, at which a paper was read by S. M. Pedrick on "Reasons why Brockway College changed its name." His data were taken from the records of Ripon College and supplemented by extracts from the Ripon papers of 1858, culled from files in the possession of the Society.

A paper was also read by Superintendent E. L. Luther, of the public schools, on the "First bell in Ripon." This was an interesting account of the bell of the Wisconsin Phalanx, and its subsequent history—the bell is now being daily used in the service of the First Ward school. The story of the late Aaron Bailey of this city was re-told, as Bailey gave it to Rev. Mr. Woodhead, of the former's experience with Jefferson Davis at Green Bay, when Davis was in the military service and stationed in Wisconsin.

The present officers are: President, E. L. Luther; vice-president, W. S. Crowther; treasurer, C. H. Ellsworth; secretary, S. M. Pedrick.

Largely through the work of this Society, the old schoolhouse known as the "Birthplace of the Republican Party" has been purchased. The local Commercial Club became interested, and actively conducted the canvass for the necessary funds. The house has been removed to the campus of Ripon College, where it is designed that it shall become an historical museum; but until funds are in hand for the purpose, the work of restoration

of the building and putting its interior in shape for use, is being necessarily delayed. That this landmark has been procured and removed to a place of safety, is of itself deemed a considerable accomplishment for the present. That in the future it will be adequately restored and maintained, there is but little doubt. When fitted up, it is now the expectation of the Historical Society to place its collections in that building, as a nucleus for the museum that it is planned to place in the historic old building. In this connection, it might be said that the secretary prepared an article on "Ripon's claim as the birthplace of the Republican Party," which was first published in the Ripon *Commonwealth* during the year.

One branch of historical work that has received some impetus locally, has been that of genealogical research. One of the local clubs has also spent one session entirely in the consideration of local history, papers having been read on "Some Glimpses of Local History," and another on "Green Lake Legends," both of which were of a character to stimulate interest in things historical.

This is the modest record of a year's work. It is not much, but it is something.

S. M. Pedrick,
Secretary.

Ripon, September 24, 1908.

Report of Sauk County Historical Society

The general interest throughout the county in the work of the Sauk County Historical Society, has been more pronounced during the past year than formerly. It may be that the dedication on August 7 of the Man Mound Park, purchased a year ago, has been an object lesson of no small importance. The beautiful bronze tablet at the mound, given by J. Van Orden of Baraboo, has certainly exemplified the significance of individual interest. Throughout the year there has been a gradual increase in the donations and loans, the most of which has been very valuable. Many direct efforts are made by certain members to find heirlooms and other treasured relics, and to persuade the owners either to give or loan them to the Society. A list of these gifts and loans is published in the county papers from time to time. As far as it is possible to obtain it, the history of the articles thus reported is given in each case.

The most important single acquisition from one person was the bequest of the late Alfred Page of Prairie du Sac. His collection consists of many polished shells taken from the Wisconsin and other rivers in the county, a collection of stone axes and arrow-heads, and a great abundance of stalactites, in the rough, and formed into various interesting shapes and polished. These latter are of a kind of onyx. Not only was the work done by Mr. Page, a resident of the county, but the materials were found in a quarry in the county. He did the work between the ages of 75 and 80. The specimens were well exhibited in cases of his own manufacture. Since the Society has come into possession of them, a part has been placed in a room of one of the county officials, while the other cases are in the regular rooms of the Society in the court-house. The abundance of

materials has made it necessary for the Society to use more than the rooms set aside for the purpose by the county.

Besides the regular clipping and mounting of printed articles of local historical importance, the Society has held four meetings and the joint meeting August 7 and 8 with the State Archæological Society at the dedication of the Man Mound.

The papers read at the meetings were:

Hop Days in Sauk County, by Hon. John M. True of Baraboo.
Baraboo from 1846 to 1850, by Dr. A. A. Noyes, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Early History of Greenfield, by Mrs. L. H. Palmer of Baraboo.
Exploded Theories of Devil's Lake, by Engineer H. E. French of Baraboo.
Early Education in Baraboo, by O. L. Stinson of Baraboo.
The Seminary, by Mrs. B. Clarke of Baraboo.
The Collegiate Institute, by Mrs. J. G. Train of Baraboo.
School Experiences and Reminiscences, by Charles Wing of Baraboo.
Pioneer Festivals, by Mrs. U. VonWald of Baraboo.

At the dedication of the Man Mound Park there was a good attendance from many places in the state. Charles E. Brown, secretary of the State Archæological Society, gave an address on "The Preservation of the Man Mound." W. H. Canfield of Baraboo told the story of his discovery of the mound in the late 50's. Mrs. Clara T. Runge of Baraboo, state treasurer of the Wisconsin Federation of Women's Clubs, spoke on the "Interest of the Women's Clubs." Miss Portia Martin of Baraboo presented the tablet, with an appropriate address. After the presentation, Miss Mary Louise Van Orden of Baraboo unveiled the tablet. The flag used at the unveiling was given to Miss Van Orden, as a courtesy from the Society. The park and tablet were accepted for the societies by Hon. John M. True of Baraboo.

On Saturday, August 8, the second day of the joint meeting, trips were made by the visitors to Devils Lake, where the several mounds there were observed and the Old Settlers' grounds visited.

O. L. Stinson,
Secretary.

Baraboo, October 13, 1908.

Report of Superior Historical Society

The only meeting of the Superior Historical Society during the past year was held on Saturday evening, October 3, 1908. Mr. Phillip G. Stratton submitted an historical curiosity in the shape of a law enacted by the Wisconsin legislature, under which, for several years, Douglas County, in the early days, expended annually many thousands of dollars in opening, repairing, and maintaining the Military and Crow Wing roads. The act is one of the *Private and Local Laws* of 1866, and reads as follows:

Sec. 1. The Board of Supervisors of the County of Douglas are hereby authorized and empowered to appropriate a sum, not exceeding three thousand dollars per annum, to aid in the construction and repairs of the United States Military and Crow Wing roads through the public lands of the United States in unorganized counties of Minnesota, and the sum so appropriated shall be levied and collected in the same manner as other county taxes.

Sec. 2. This act shall be in force from and after its passage and publication.

Approved April 9, 1866.

The Military Road extended from St. Paul to Superior, a distance of about a hundred and sixty miles, only fifteen of which were in Wisconsin. It was the only land avenue for Superior, from earliest times, till the railway was opened to Duluth in August, 1870.

The Crow Wing Road was about a hundred miles long, starting from the Military Road some forty miles south of Superior and running west via the north shore of Lake Mille Lacs to the Mississippi River, at the village of Crow Wing. It was built primarily by Superior money and enterprise, to secure the

trade of the Hudson's Bay Company. For some reason this trade never materialized, and the road fell into disuse.

Mr. William J. Leader read the following account of the experience of Douglas County in issuing its bonds to aid in building a railroad to connect Superior with the Northern Pacific Railroad: The Superior & St. Croix Railroad Company was created by act of legislature, published April 16, 1870.[1] Among the incorporators were Hiram Hayes, I. W. Gates, and Solon H. Clough, all residents of Superior. The corporation thus formed was empowered to build and operate a railroad from a point on the Bay of Superior through the counties of Douglas, Burnett, Polk, St. Croix, and Pierce, via St. Croix Falls and Hudson, to Prescott; and from the same point of beginning, a road along the north side of Nemadji River to the Minnesota state line.

The counties and towns along the proposed line were authorized to aid in the construction of the road, by subscribing to the capital stock, and paying for the same, either in money or bonds, the stock becoming the property of the county or town so aiding. On October 13, 1871, the county board of Douglas County held a special meeting, at which a resolution was adopted subscribing $350,000 to the capital stock of the Superior & St. Croix Railroad, to be paid for in 350 bonds of the county, of the face value of $1,000 each, to bear date of February 1, 1872, and to mature February 1, 1892, bearing interest at rate of eight per cent per annum, payable semi-annually. It was provided that this action of the county board must be approved by the people at a special election, which was ordered held November 6, 1871.

William R. Smith was chairman of the board, Richard Relf county clerk, and James Collier and Andrew Soderland supervisors. Chairman Smith was not present at the meeting, and the minutes are signed by James Collier, chairman *pro tem.* Evidently Superior wanted the railroad and was willing to pay for it, for the result of the election shows: For railroad aid, 204; against raidroad aid, none.

The same day (October 13) on which the county board voted its subscription, the Superior & St. Croix Railroad Company, by its vice-president, Solon H. Clough, and its secretary, Hiram

[1] *Private and Local Laws of 1870*, chapter 326.

Hayes, entered into an agreement with Horace S. Walbridge, Heman D. Walbridge, and J. H. Sargent, all of Ohio, operating under the firm name of Walbridge Brothers & Sargent, whereby this firm was to construct and equip that part of the railroad from Superior Bay to a point in Minnesota, on the line of the Northern Pacific Railroad, mentioned in various documents as Komoko (near the present village of Carlton). Walbridge Brothers & Sargent were to receive in payment for their work, the aforementioned $350,000 of bonds and the balance of about a million dollars in stock and first mortgage bonds of the railroad company.

On March 6, 1872, the bonds were delivered to the representatives of the railroad company, the first coupons having been cut off and destroyed by the county officials. Trouble appears to have begun at once; for on August 24, 1872, it "appeared to the county board" that all of the bonds were in the hands of the contractors, Walbridge Brothers & Sargent, that they had suspended work immediately after getting possession of the bonds, and were then endeavoring to transfer said county bonds, St. Croix Railroad stock, and their contract, to the Northern Pacific Railroad Company. Mr. H. S. Walbridge was asked for an explanation. It does not appear that he made one; if he did, neither his explanation nor his subsequent acts were deemed satisfactory, for the later history of the bonds is one of litigation and attempts to settle, until the spring of 1879, when the county secured judgment and recovered $275,000 of the bonds.

There was still $75,000 outstanding. Authorized by chapter 44 of the Laws of 1879, the county compromised the matter by receiving $50,000 of these bonds and allowing the creditors to retain $25,000. Interest coupons, to and including those due February 1, 1883, were detached from these bonds and destroyed. Beginning with August 1, 1883, the county paid the interest coupons, as they matured semi-annually, until February 1, 1892, when the last instalment of interest and the twenty-five bonds were paid. The railroad that was not built, thus cost Douglas County, in principal and interest, $43,000, and an expensive fight in the courts.

In justice to all concerned, it is proper to record that Walbridge Brothers & Sargent, most reputable gentlemen, and

largely interested in Superior properties, under their contract with the county surveyed and located the line, secured the right of way, cleared the line for its entire distance, graded a large portion of it, and cut and purchased and delivered on the ground, ready for use, the ties and bridge timber, at a large expenditure, reported by them to be about $60,000. It is stated by those familiar with conditions at the time, that the negotiations of the firm with the Northern Pacific to take over their contract, and relieve them of its heavy burden, would in all probability have been successful if the panic of 1873 had not carried the Northern Pacific into bankruptcy and paralyzed all business. In 1881 the Northern Pacific built its line from Carlton into Superior, following the Walbridge line most of the way, and profiting by the clearing and grading done on that line some years before.

When the bonds were presented for cancellation to the county board, by the treasurer, on August 18, 1892, the board authorized the presentation of one, properly defaced, to the public library of the City of Superior, for preservation; and the foregoing sketch was prepared by Mr. Leader, at that time county clerk, from the records, to accompany the gift.

Mr. M. S. Bright presented the Society with a pamphlet containing the special report of W. Milnor Roberts, United States civil engineer, of a reconnaissance across the continent made by him in 1869, in seeking for a route for the Northern Pacific Railroad between Lake Superior and Puget Sound.

Mrs. F. Howard Carrier donated a bank note dated June 1, 1853, of the Erie & Kalamazoo Railroad Bank, denomination of $3.00.

The officers of the Society are:

President—James Bardon.

Vice-President—Phillip G. Stratton.

Treasurer—Robert L. Hunter.

Secretary—Henry S. Butler.

Advisory Committee—Mrs. A. J. Vinje, A. C. Shong, E. F. McCausland.

JAMES BARDON,
President.

HENRY S. BUTLER,
Secretary.

SUPERIOR, October 6, 1908.

Report of Walworth County Historical Society

No change of officers has been made. Two members have been enrolled. Mr. Henry Bradley, who came to Elkhorn in 1837, and who served as postmaster for twenty-nine years, has been made an honorary member.

Something useful has been added to each of the several divisions of the Society's collections. A dozen volumes of the Elkhorn *Independent* are about to be sent to the binder. The greatest present want is for contributions from members and others, to the division of manuscripts; and next, perhaps, to that of photographs. The poorest and the busiest members can do something that will be of value now, but of greater value in centuries to come, in one or both of these lines of our work. So far, at least, every member of a local historical society ought to be a working member. The burden of this Society is of the lightest, and a most profitable field for its labor lies broadly and plainly before it.

A. C. Beckwith,
President.
J. H. Snyder,
Secretary.

Elkhorn, October 12, 1908.

Report of Waukesha County Historical Society

The second annual meeting of the Society was held at the home of Mrs. George W. Carleton, Waukesha, on Saturday, March 14, 1908. Between fifty and sixty persons, including guests, were present—ten from Oconomowoc, seven from Delafield, and several from Mukwonago, Hartland, and other places in the county.

The by-laws were amended, so that hereafter the annual meeting will be held in the first week of September.

The officers for the ensuing year are:

President—Rolland L. Porter, Mukwonago.
First Vice-President—T. W. Haight, Waukesha.
Second Vice-President—George F. Westover, Oconomowoc.
Third Vice-President—Louise C. Williams, Oconomowoc.
Secretary—Julia A. Lapham, Oconomowoc.
Treasurer—M. L. Synder, Waukesha.
Advisory Board—F. H. Putney, Theodora W. Youmans, and Dora Putnam, all of Waukesha.

The following programme was given:

Vocal Solo, "My Own United States," Mrs. C. F. Hawley.
The Cushing Family in Wisconsin, T. W. Haight.
Early days in Delafield, Miss Agnes Sperry.
Piano duet, "When the Lights are Low," Mrs. Haynes and Mrs. Hawley.
Let there Be light, Rolland L. Porter.
Reminiscences: Five minute talks by members and guests.

Accounts of some early elections in Waukesha County, from the New York *Weekly Tribune* of 1846–47, were read by the secretary.

Mr. Westcver suggested that some action be taken at the September meeting to publish the papers written for this Society —that they were too valuable to lose.

About fifty or sixty members and guests assembled at the home of Mrs. Charles L. Kellogg, Oconomowoc, on Saturday, September 5.

The secretary was directed to report at the next meeting the expense of printing in pamphlet form the papers written for this Society.

A letter was read from S. A. Chappell, of River Forest, Ill., whose wife was the daughter of an old resident of Oconomowoc.

"Auld Lang Syne" was sung in true Scotch fashion, every one standing and joining hands.

The programme opened with a piano solo by Professor Mullen of Watertown.

A paper by W. H. Hardy, Sr., of Waukesha, "Reminiscences of the Genesee schools, fifty years ago," was especially interesting to some of his old pupils who were present.

In his account of "First settlers and first things in Waukesha County," O. P. Clinton told in a pleasing way incidents of long ago, and many familiar names were mentioned.

Mrs. C. L. Kellogg sang a familiar old-time song, "When the swallows homeward fly."

Those present will not soon forget Mrs. E. S. Turner's "Reminiscences" of her long life in Waukesha County; nor will they forget Dr. Philler's paper on "The passing away of the family physician: personal recollections."

All these papers were published in the Waukesha *Freeman*.

JULIA A. LAPHAM,
Secretary.

OCONOMOWOC, October 15, 1908.

John B. Cassoday

By E. Ray Stevens

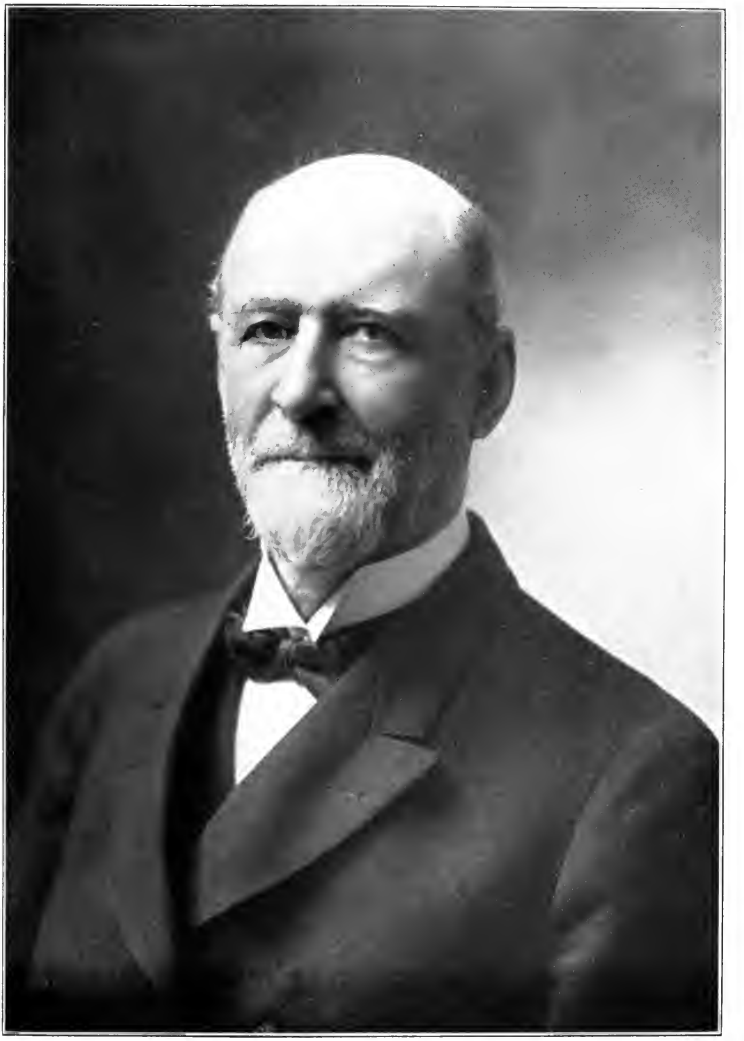
Chief Justice Cassoday began the practice of law among the lawyers and judges who were actively engaged in work at the bar when Wisconsin's code of laws and system of jurisprudence were established. Few men that shared with him the labors of administering the law while he was at the bar, survive him. No member of the present supreme bench, and few men, lawyers or laymen, can say, as he did, that Justice Crawford, who was a member of the supreme court from 1853 to 1855, "is the only member of this court with whom I never had any personal acquaintance."[1]

For fifty years Justice Cassoday took an active part in shaping the destinies of his adopted state, to which he came as a young man of twenty-seven, ready to seek admission to the bar. He came to Wisconsin but nine years after it was admitted to the Union; visited Madison at the close of the third commencement at the State University; journeyed northward by stage as far as Baraboo, in search of a location; was admitted to the bar at Janesville July 18, 1857, and began to practice in that city at the time when the problems of slavery and secession engrossed the attention of thinking men.

As he was ever a pleasing and effective speaker, he was much in demand on public occasions. During the times of secession and reconstruction, no campaign passed that did not find him doing the good citizen's duty at the caucus, in the convention, and on the stump.

In these stirring times he was one of the trusted counselors of his party. He was a delegate to the national convention that nominated Lincoln in 1864. In 1879 he presided over the

[1] 123 Wis. xxxiv.



John B. Cassoday

Republican state convention. In the national convention of 1880, it was the announcement, made by him as chairman of the Wisconsin delegation, in voice clear as bugle note, that "Wisconsin casts two votes for General Grant, two votes for James G. Blaine, and twenty votes for General James A. Garfield" that electrified the convention, broke the deadlock, and led to the nomination of President Garfield.

During these years Justice Cassoday's name was urged for such offices as that of attorney-general and governor, member of Congress, and United States senator. He was also suggested as the successor of Judge Hopkins on the federal bench, at the time of Judge Romanzo Bunn's appointment. But with the exception of two terms in the assembly, he never permitted himself to be drawn away from his law practice by becoming a candidate for office. He sat as a member of the last assembly that met during the War of Secession, and was speaker of the assembly that convened January 10, 1877, which under his guidance completed its work and adjourned on March 8. For the information of those who have known recent legislatures, it ought to be added that it was March 8 of the same year.

It will aid us in appreciating the changes that have taken place in Wisconsin during the life of Justice Cassoday, to recall that it was during his service as member of the assembly of 1865 that the legislature memorialized Congress for a daily overland mail route from Green Bay northward to Marinette, where the sawmills and the lumbering interests require "increased mail facilities." During this same session the legislature urged Congress to introduce "the new railway distributing postoffice system," because under the system then in use "a delay of twelve hours and upwards is necessarily incurred at the Chicago office" in the transmission of a letter from Wisconsin to the East.

To Justice Cassoday a public office was a public trust to be administered for the public good. When he was elected speaker, the powers that controlled the Republican party in the State determined that Mr. James G. Flanders of Milwaukee, a member of the assembly, should be punished for deserting the Republicans and joining the ranks of the Democracy in the recent campaign. They demanded of the speaker that Mr. Flanders be kept off the judiciary committee. But they made their de-

mands in vain. Speaker Cassoday, recognizing that Mr. Flanders could thus best serve the State, made him a member of that important committee.

Chief Justice Cassoday rendered his greatest service to the State after his appointment to the supreme bench on November 11, 1880. Of all who have been justices of that court, Chief Justice Cole alone served for a longer period of time. In view of the constantly increasing volume of work before the court, it may well be doubted whether Chief Justice Cole participated in the decision of as many cases during his thirty-seven years of service as did Justice Cassoday in his twenty-seven. Eighty-four of the one hundred and thirty-three volumes of the published reports of the supreme court contain opinions written by Justice Cassoday.

One who does not know the character of service performed by the justices of the supreme court will never appreciate the protracted confinement and seclusion, the patient, severe, and continued study and investigation which he devoted to the cases submitted to the court for determination. When he entered upon the work he was fifty years of age. He never had been a man of the most robust health. But so carefully did he husband his physical strength that it was not until he had devoted a quarter of a century to this most exacting labor that his physical strength began in any way to limit his mental achievements; and then the end came, on December 30, 1907, while he was engaged in the labor to which he had devoted himself with a zeal akin to that of a religious zealot.

Upon his appointment to the bench he gave up active participation in affairs outside the court-room; his church, this State Historical Society, and the State University standing almost alone as exceptions to this rule of conduct. From 1876 to 1880, and again from 1885 to 1899, he lectured in the law school of the State University, upon wills and constitutional law. He was a regent of the University from 1877 to 1880.

He was a member of the legislature that directed that the second story of the south wing of the capitol building be prepared for the use of this Society. For nearly twenty years he served us as curator. In December, 1896, he was elected a vice-president, to succeed General Fairchild. He frequently served on important committees, gave liberally to the library, and,

whenever the needs of the Society required, gave it financial support.

He prepared several scholarly discussions of topics of special interest to his profession, as well as a legal text book on *Wills*. But it is the opinions written by him during the years devoted to the work of the supreme court, that must ever stand as his most enduring memorial. Time does not permit any discussion of the many important decisions written by him.

Industry and integrity were the corner-stones of his character. He was left fatherless and well-nigh penniless at the early age of three; so that from necessity, as well as from habit, labor was the watchword of his life. As a lawyer he was never satisfied until he had accumulated all the facts and all the law that would throw light on the case in hand. As a judge he continued the same laborious search. To him there was a sacredness about judicial decisions. He respected the precedents found in the adjudicated cases, and depended upon them more than upon philosophical consideration of the law involved in the case which he had under consideration.

He was fundamentally kind and considerate in all the relationships of life. He possessed that rare combination of a gentle dignity befitting his high office, and a kindliness that made every one who knew him his friend. His long career in the supreme court of which he was chief justice from July 4, 1895, placed him in a position where by precept and by example he could exert great influence upon the bar of the State. His spotless private life, his rectitude of personal conduct, his ambition justly and conscientiously to fulfil the duties of his high office, his ideals of professional ethics and conduct, have all been potent factors in maintaining a high standard of the legal profession in this State. The younger generation of lawyers, especially, have been guided by his example and inspired by his kindly interest in them. The power of the courts is measured, as by the foot rule, by the faith which the people have in their justice and integrity. No judge ever did more to inspire confidence in the courts. Had he written with the pen of a Marshall or of a Ryan, he would not have performed a higher service.

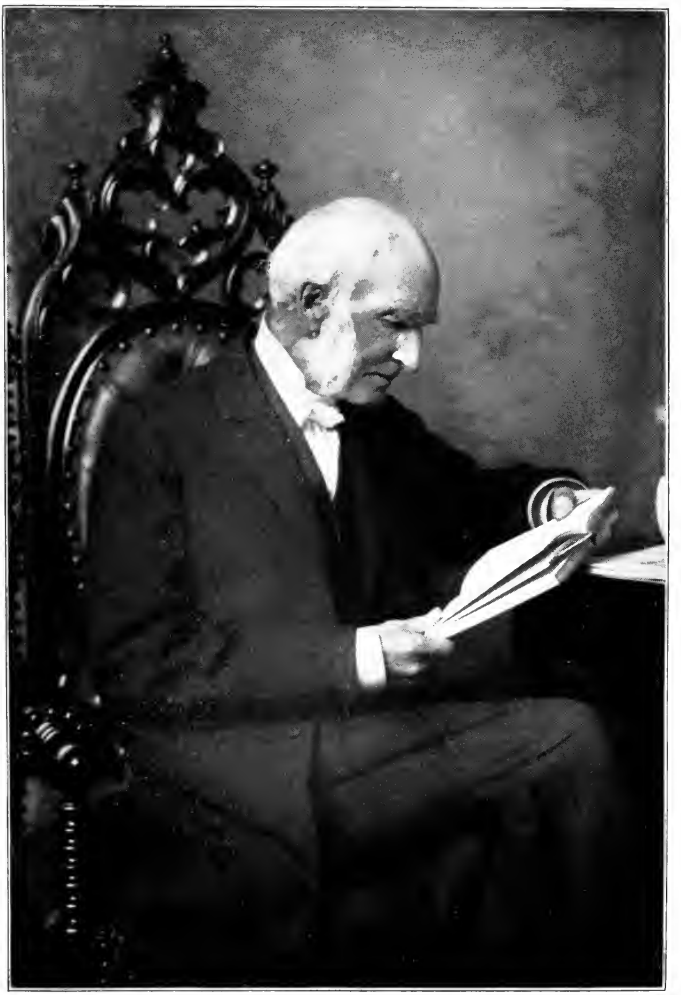
Julius Taylor Clark

By Elisha Williams Keyes

The fourth decade of the nineteenth century was an important epoch in the history of Madison and the Territory of Wisconsin. The fame of the new territory (erected in 1836) and its future possibilities were well-known throughout the Union. Madison, its new capital, like a gem set in the crown of the boundless West, had extended far and wide its reputation for beauty and attractiveness. This little village, soon to become the capital of a great commonwealth, held out great opportunities for eager, ardent young men from Eastern and other states of the Union, who had been quietly watching this shining star in the Western firmament. Among those who made quick response to the summons was the subject of this sketch—the late Julius Taylor Clark.

He and other pioneers of like ability were empire builders. They were men of high character and patriotism, ambitious to identify themselves with the growth and development of the great West. Not one of the new territories, at that period, gathered within its borders pioneers superior or equal to those who first gave energy and life to the founding of Wisconsin.

Julius Taylor Clark was born August 3, 1814, at Isle La Mott, Vermont. When but six years of age his parents removed to New York State, where young Clark grew to manhood and was a graduate in 1837 of Union College at Schenectady. Meanwhile his father's family had removed (1833) to Ottawa, Illinois, where the young student followed them and began the study of law. April 9, 1839, he was admitted to the bar of the supreme court of Illinois, and on May 25 following he was appointed by Judge Ford of the ninth judicial circuit of that state, clerk in chancery for La Salle County. The next year he removed to Madison.



Julius Taylor Clark

Julius T. Clark

When, accompanied by his father's family, Julius Clark settled in Madison in August, 1840, but few men possessing his abilities and his spirit of adventure had preceded him. He had found, however, what he sought; and delighted with the wildness of the place he made up his mind to make it his residence and take his chances in its development. Thus he became prominently identified with the growth and prosperity of Madison. Soon after his arrival he formed a law partnership with the late William N. Seymour, and later entered the law firm of Catlin, Abbott, and Clark. From that time on, during his residence here, he was actively engaged in the practice of his profession.

When I came to Madison to study law in the year 1850, Mr. Clark had been a lawyer here, in good practice, for about ten years. While he had evidently determined that that profession should be his life-work, he did not shirk the performance of other duties, for which he was so eminently fitted, and turned aside from his law practice to encourage the development of our educational system. His own thorough education caused his advice on these matters to be sought and followed to a large extent.

The organization of the State University was one of the first tasks to which the newly-created State of Wisconsin turned its attention. Mr. Clark was a member of the first board of regents, being appointed September 6, 1848, by Gov. Nelson Dewey; and on October 7, 1848, at the first meeting of the board, he was elected its secretary, serving as such until 1856. At this first meeting the selection of the site of the university was made, and building operations authorized. Mr. Clark was largely instrumental in securing the beautiful location of this institution, and contributed of his wisdom and foresight to its organization. He also rendered further service in the interests of our educational system. February 25, 1858, he was appointed by Gov. A. W. Randall a member of the board of regents of normal schools of the State, and on April 5, 1862, was reappointed by Gov. L. P. Harvey; being chosen for a third term February 14, 1865, by Gov. James T. Lewis.

His services in the early days of the State Historical Society were of much value. Soon after the reorganization of 1854 Clark was chosen curator, and served as such from 1855–57 and

1861–63; during his first incumbency he was a member of the executive committee, and aided in auditing the Society's accounts. He was also a donor to the Library; and in 1862 contributed an article on the Chippewa chief, Hole-in-the-Day, which is published in volume v of the *Collections*.

Mr. Clark's public services were not entirely confined to educational and literary institutions. Soon after his arrival here, that is in December, 1841, he was appointed by Governor Doty, auditor of public accounts for Wisconsin Territory for the term of three years. July 6, 1843, he was given the office of educational agent among the Chippewa nation of Indians, the tribe then being located mainly in northern Wisconsin, to hold such office during the pleasure of the President. In the fulfilment of this duty he left Madison in August of that year, and proceeded to La Pointe on Lake Superior, by way of Milwaukee, Mackinac, and Sault Ste. Marie. He arrived at his destination in time to see the autumn gathering of the tribesmen as they came in to the agency for their annuities. Alfred Brunson of Prairie du Chien was Indian agent there at this time, and with him were Bishop Baraga and Sherman Hall, missionaries at this place. Clark studied the language and customs of these Northern tribesmen. He appears to have made a long inland journey by sledge or *traineau* to the Leech Lake band of the Chippewa, on Sandy Lake. These experiences were embodied upon his return to Madison (1845) in a long poem known as "The Ojibue Conquest." This the author lent to a civilized Indian, to aid him in securing funds. It was finally published by the original writer in 1898. It is a long narrative of the Sioux-Chippewa enmity and warfare, interwoven with a love story, and shows considerable knowledge of Indian customs and traditions.

In addition to public services to education and administration, Julius Clark was especially interested in all matters affecting the town of Madison. This place was organized as a village in 1850 and Mr. Clark was the first village clerk. Later he was elected one of the trustees, thus becoming identified with the first village organization. In 1857, after the chartering of the city, he was chosen alderman, but retired before having completed his term. As early as 1846 Mr. Clark became the possessor of blocks 94 and 95, which now constitute the residence

property of the late Col. William F. Vilas. At that time Madison was a wild spot, unsettled and unimproved, and these lots were, as he once said, "a wilderness grown heavily with large trees and underbrush." He made the first improvements on that side of the village, really the first made on the northwest side of the capitol park. He built a fair-sized frame house, and there are those living in Madison today who remember the appearance it made to the onlookers, nestling as it did in the midst of a forest. In 1859 he constructed, on the same spot, what at that time was considered a very fine brick residence, which he occupied until his removal from the city. Mr. Clark early appreciated the natural beauty of this fine location, the finest in Madison today, although in its native wildness it was overlooked, and he was the first to make an effort to secure it. In later years his taste and judgment have been fully verified by the consensus of opinion that this location is one of the most beautiful residence sites in Madison.

Not long after his return from the Indian country, Mr. Clark married (1846) at Madison, Palmyra Cornell, who died in 1853. She left two sons, the elder of whom, Julius Scott, still lives in Topeka, Kansas. The following year Juliet Millard of Dubuque, Iowa, came to share the Madison home, and having removed West with her husband lived until 1899. Of her children one son died in 1903 in Idaho; Mrs. Louis Henry Wolff, a daughter, lives in Indianapolis; while with Mrs. J. W. F. Hughes, the other daughter, Judge Clark made his home in his declining years.

His residence in Madison extended over a period of twenty-five years, and during all this time he was a very busy man. While his law business really required his undivided attention, his great interest in questions which concerned the growth of the Territory and State induced him to devote much time to those matters. While not pronouncedly active in politics, his sympathies were largely with the Whig party and later with the Republicans. Some time in the decade of the fifties, he assisted in editorial work on the newspaper representing those principles —the Madison *Express*.

It was with great regret that Mr. Clark felt that his health and his interests required him to seek a new location, and perhaps a wider field for the practice of his profession than that

which Madison afforded at that time. Therefore in 1866 he removed to the new state of Kansas which, since his residence there, has progressed in a wonderful degree, and become one of the greatest commonwealths in the then distant West.

In Kansas, Clark settled first at Burlingame, where he bought land and planned some manufacturing enterprises. After something more than a year's residence in this place, his attention was attracted by the prospects of Topeka, and he removed (1868) to that place, where he spent the remainder of his life. But little time and attention was devoted by Clark to professional life after removing to Kansas. At Topeka he built a gas plant, of which he was active manager until 1895. He was in Kansas, as he had been in Wisconsin, closely identified with educational and philanthropic interests. Presbyterian colleges, both in Kansas and Missouri, benefited by his liberality. The local church and charities were fostered by his care. During the autumn of his life he was occupied in philanthropic and literary labors, publishing two small volumes of verse. The former contained, in addition to the Indian poem already noted, religious poems, translations of Latin hymns, and Latin renderings of well-known English hymns. The second volume, privately published in 1902, is known as *Horae Senectae,* and reveals a calm and peaceful mind full of faith in the unseen future. Death occurred at Topeka, May 23, 1908.

In my first acquaintance with Mr. Clark I was not impressed with the idea that he possessed a strong physical constitution. Nevertheless, he was constantly at work, never idle, pursuing the even tenor of his way, in the conduct of his own business, with plenty of time and thought for the conservation of public interests. I cannot think of anyone who contributed more to the advancement of popular education than did Mr. Clark.

When he left Madison, he carried with him to the new state of his residence the same disposition and determination to accomplish something for the public good. Seventy years of his long and useful life were spent in the capitals of two great states of the West, where he left a strong impress of his high character and great usefulness. The record which he made in Wisconsin, his association with the early growth of Madison, and his close identification with all matters springing from this centre for the benefit of the State, was most important.

To sum up his life-work, it may be said that he was an honest and unselfish man; that while engaged in the practice of his profession he still had time to devote to the cause of the public good; and that he accomplished much in whatever direction his talents and energies were devoted. I can say most truthfully that no man ever went out from our midst who left behind him a better record of labor and devotion to all which conserved the best interests of our city; and notwithstanding over forty years have elapsed since he removed from us—nearly half his life time—there are still a few yet living here who cherish a remembrance of the many virtues he possessed, and his disposition to do good to all as he had opportunity.

Nils Otto Tank

By Hjalmar Rued Holand

The Norwegian immigration to America began in 1825, but until the later thirties did not assume any significant proportions. By 1850 there were in America about 16,000 Norwegians of the first and second generations. The majority of these were scattered in a half dozen settlements in the extreme southern part of Wisconsin.

In Milwaukee, there was a transient population of about 300 of this nationality. One of the first of these to make a permanent residence in the city was a pious Moravian by the name of Olson. He was a pleasing singer and an ardent evangelist, and as there were no regular local Lutheran services in the mother tongue, he had many followers. By 1849 he had gained so many proselytes that he wrote to the headquarters in Norway for an ordained minister to take charge of the work. A. M. Iverson, a young student, was sent at once, and he was ordained in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in the spring of 1850. He was the first Moravian minister in the West.

At that time there were very hard times in Milwaukee, little work and poor pay. The city was likewise turbulent and vicious. Accordingly, the little Moravian colony was anxious to move out of the town, both to secure a safer living by agriculture and to save their children from being contaminated by the wickedness that surrounded them. As they were all poor, they appealed to the headquarters in Norway, stating their humble circumstances and great distress, and asking for assistance, either by gift or loan. Again were their wants attended to. In reply, came a man of much wealth and great charity, Nils Otto Tank, one of the most remarkable Norwegians who has taken up his home in this country.

Nils Otto Tank

Nils Otto Tank

A short distance from the busy city of Frederikshald, in one of the most charming parts of picturesque Norway, lies the great estate of Röd, for many generations the patrimony of the Tank family. Its far-reaching, fertile fields, tilled by scores of industrious tenants, bear witness of its wealth. The spacious parks and ancient game preserves tell of its pleasures. The dignified manor house, filled with treasures garnered through centuries, speaks of its luxuries. In the centre of the park is the family cemetery, where lies many a noble statesman and valiant soldier; and close by are three gigantic mounds where rest the remains of their favorite riding horses, on whose backs, in the ancient days of sport and pleasure they dearly loved to roam the rolling uplands.

Here in the year 1800, was born Nils Otto, the last son of the house of Tank. The Tank family always claimed to belong to the nobility, and generally were looked upon as belonging to such, although this is not substantiated by history. The foundation for this claim lies in the report that in the war times of 1660, the first Tank fitted out some war vessels at his own expense, and lent his sovereign signal service. For this, King Frederik III publicly gave him *Dank* (thanks), and said that this (i. e., Dank) should hereafter be his name.

Be that as it may, Carsten Tank, the father of Nils Otto, was more than a noble; for he was the prime minister of King Christian Frederik in 1814, Norway's most momentous year of history. In those volcanic times of Napoleon, when one ancient throne after another tottered and fell, Carsten Tank had navigated the heaving sea of politics with consummate skill. It is rumored that he lent a hand in dethroning Gustav IV. He had seen Norway pass from Denmark to Sweden. In the front rank of his countrymen he had refused to acknowledge such chattel transfer, and had joined in declaring Norway free and independent. He had been called by Norway's first king to take the helm of the ship of state, as prime minister. Being the first to understand the inefficiency of this monarch, he had sacrificed his allegiance to his king for that to his country, and was the chief man in calling together the Convention of Moss, whereby King Frederik was deposed and Norway entered into her long-continued personal union with Sweden, under one king.

In all this, Carsten Tank had served his country ably and faithfully, but now his personal ambitions begin to play the upper hand. By this union with Sweden, King Karl XIII became King of Norway. King Karl was old and childless. Upon his death who would take the reins? The resolute Tank despised the feeble sons of decaying dynasties. A sturdy chief of his own soil was what this country needed. Why then, he reasoned, should not his own promising son come into consideration? He was the scion of proud lords, had a royal bearing, possessed great learning and abilities, and his father was a controlling force. In those troublous times, with their schemes and cabals, when kings forthwith were deposed and commonwealths traded like horses, this was no impossible ambition. Strong hands and crafty plans, and a wedding with a princess of some royal house, would accomplish the end. Nils Otto was sounded, and the ardent young cavalier entered with enthusiasm into the plans. Once more he was sent abroad, in the hope that intercourse with the best society of Europe would gain the last smooth finish to his already considerable culture.

Matters developed most promisingly. After a protracted stay at foreign courts and universities, Nils Otto had acquired a most faultless bearing and extensive accomplishments, and was about to start home to play his part in the intrigues of the court. Then it happened that far up in the mountains of Saxony, in the little town of Herrnhut, he looked into the deep, serious, soulful eyes of Marian Frueauff, daughter of a clergyman among the pietistic brethren who inhabit that place. Like a sudden awakening from a dream, his vision changed. Forgotten were his father's worldly injunctions, the dream of royalty, the pomp and power of court, and worldly honors and ambitions. His love was unconquerable, and in a few weeks he journeyed home with his bride.

But his father, the iron-willed old statesman, had forgotten all about love and romance. His dreams of founding a dynasty were dissipated by the amours of his son, and lost was his sweetness of life. With scornful upbraidings he gave his son the choice of rejecting his plebeian wife or being himself an outcast.[1]

[1] **The foregoing narrative of court intrigues is naturally not a matter of historical record, but is the substance of chance confidences, dropped in the intimacy of family fellowship, and communicated to the writer.**

But this was more than a passing infatuation with Nils Otto. He not only acknowledged his wife, but, persuaded by her gentle influence, he also acknowledged his conversion to the simple Moravian faith. Thereupon he entered a long term of work for that cause, first as teacher, and later as missionary to the slaves of Surinam (or Dutch Guiana). Henceforth, for many years we see Otto Tank, who had been reared amid the *bon-mots* of brilliant *salons,* humbly and patiently teaching the gospel of salvation to tawny heathen in distant tropics.

During his student years, young Tank had been much interested in mineralogy, showing considerable promise in his researches in this field. In far-away Surinam this scientific knowledge played him a good part, for he discovered the extensive gold fields that later made Guiana famous. But the wealth he appears to have gained by this discovery was of little comfort to him, for the deadly climate was too much for his wife, whose remains are buried there. Desolate, and hungering for intercourse with men of his kind, he finally took his four-year-old daughter, Marian, and in 1847 left for Europe.

Tank now lingered for some time in Holland, where at Amsterdam he made the acquaintance of a distinguished clergyman and scholar, the Rev. J. R. Van der Meulen. He was the descendant of a long line of prosperous art collectors and bibliophiles. Van der Meulen's house was filled with a wonderful collection of antique furniture of most artistic workmanship, choice plate and paintings, rare bric-a-brac, and thousands of volumes of ancient books and manuscripts of inestimable value. Considerable wealth had also come to him through his wife, formerly chief lady-in-waiting at the court of Holland, and daughter of the famous General Baron von Botzelaar, who, in 1797, had repulsed Napoleon at Willemstadt. For this service the baron was munificently rewarded by the crown. In Catherine, the daughter of this family, Tank found a congenial companion, and she became his wife in 1849, shortly after her father's death. Thus all these Dutch treasures became a part of the Tank household.

Soon after Tank's return to Norway in 1849, there came to his notice the humble appeal from his poor countrymen and brethren in the American Middle West. In this petition for help he saw the finger of Providence indicating the field for the use

of his abilities and means, and hastened to obey. He came to Milwaukee in the spring of 1850, and it is reported that he brought with him $1,500,000. After looking over the State, he purchased 969 acres of fertile timber land on the west bank of Fox River. This tract, still known as "Tanktown," now comprises the eighth ward of the city of Green Bay. Hither he invited the Moravian colony of Milwaukee to come and settle, and promised free lands to all. The offer was received with joy by his countrymen, and in August, 1850, the whole colony moved to the new settlement—some twenty-five families in all, including Pastor A. M. Iverson.

Tank's first work was to lay out a number of lots on both sides of what is now State Street. Surrounding these, larger (ten acre) lots were laid out. These building sites were then, according to Moravian custom, apportioned among the colonists by lot. The farm lands surrounding the village site were later to be surveyed. A park covering about two acres was also laid out on the bank of the river; this was to be the site for the church. Meanwhile, the north room of Tank's cottage was consecrated as a place of public worship. The congregation, together with the village, received the name of Ephraim; that is, "the very fruitful."

Being himself a man of education, Tank appreciated the importance of schools, and proceeded at once to erect a commodious two-story schoolhouse. This was intended to be an academy for arriving Norwegians, and in the first year (1851) was attended by five young men. This was the first Norwegian school in America.

The founder entered into his communistic plans with enthusiasm. He meditated on them as he walked through the serene silence of the woods, and pondered on their ultimate development as he sat on the banks of the peaceful Fox. He thought of his extensive travels in many lands, of his father's royal dreams, of his long service as missionary in tropic Surinam, and felt that here in the primeval wilderness of a new continent the Lord had shown him his true field of work.

Perhaps he was to be permitted in some slight measure to emulate the shining example of that great man of God, Count Zinzendorf, who had founded a religious community, and whose influence had gone to the outermost parts of the earth. His

Röd Herregaard, Frederikshald

Ancestral home of Nils Otto Tank

Tank Cottage, Green Bay, in 1906

countrymen were every year coming by the thousands to America, destitute and friendless; he would help them out of the bounty with which the Lord had blessed him. There was no established church to minister to their spiritual wants; in his community they should find a well-ordered service and sanctuary. Their children needed education and religious training; in his schools they should be amply provided.

In imagination he saw the timbered solitudes give way to well-tilled, sunny fields; thrifty villages, noisy with the laughter of romping children; busy factories filled with contented workingmen. He seemed to hear the full-toned hymns of praise from crowded churches, and saw devout young men in his Bible school studying the word of God, preparatory to a missionary life. As plan and prospect opened before him, it seemed to him vastly greater to be the steward of God for the relief and help of the needy in a far-away land, than to be the envied and uneasy head of a petty temporal principality.

But as a fair vessel, with every sail bent for a quick and successful voyage, is sometimes suddenly overturned by the wind that was to waft it onward, so Tank's noble plan was frustrated by an unexpected agency. Pastor Iverson was an honest and well-meaning man; but because of wide temperamental differences he failed utterly to comprehend Tank's character and aims. Furthermore, being of an excitable and imperious temperament, Iverson was irritated at occupying a secondary place in the colony.

He personally confessed to the writer, that he could not understand what a man of Tank's wealth and opportunities really meant by settling in this wilderness, and suspected him of scheming to enrich himself by introducing the obnoxious tenant system of Norway. He therefore demanded that Tank deed the balance of the lands to the settlers. Under the existing conditions, this was partly impossible and partly contrary to Tank's plans.

Iverson, feeling his responsibility as shepherd of the flock, thereupon fomented distrust among the communists, and urged them to withdraw. Tank disdained to go about justifying himself. The result was, that about all the colonists decided to go with Iverson to the northern part of Door County, where great profits were held out to them in fishing. Iverson not only took

away with him the colony, but also its plans and even its name. Ephraim, in Door County, is now the centre of extensive Norwegian settlements numbering several thousand people.

One day in May, 1853, a vessel tied up at the dock in front of the Tank cottage, to convey the colonists to their future home. The day was radiant with the promise of spring, but it was the darkest day in Tank's life. He saw the deluded emigrants hurry down to the vessel with their few earthly possessions. Their children carried their simple, home-made tools; their poor wives struggled with the heavy emigrant chests; and the men shouldered their sacks of potatoes and grain, and brought their few cows and chickens on board. As Tank looked on their honest faces, pinched with poverty, and saw the heavy movements of their limbs, stiffened by excessive labor, now about to carry them off to greater privations and toil, they appeared to him as wayward children, sulkily denying themselves a gentle father's care. How his heart yearned for these people! How gladly would he have gathered them in his arms, like a hen gathering her chickens under her wings, but they would not!

He could not follow his people. They had spurned his gifts, and to urge further kindness upon them would but confirm them in their suspicions. Their paths and his had no future crossing. Nor would he return and take possession of the ancestral hall in Norway. His complacent relatives, smugly intrenched in pharisaic conventionalism, had with complacent pity seen him abandon the honors and pleasures of a brilliant career to become a missionary to the slaves of South America. They would see little additional honor for him in being jilted by a lot of praying emigrants. Better a secluded life on the banks of the Fox, where there was time to medidate on the futilities of life.[2] So there Tank remained until his death, with the exception of a few trips abroad for the education of his daughter Marian.

Disappointed in philanthropy, Tank now turned to business, chief of which was his share with Morgan L. Martin and others in building the Fox-Wisconsin rivers improvement. In those days, before the railroad had become a recognized success, water transportation was the great economic problem, and canal routes

[2] For the most of the narrative touching on Tank's colony at Green Bay, the writer is chiefly indebted to Rev. A. M. Iverson, of Sturgeon Bay, now deceased.

were everywhere surveyed. Chief in importance seemed to be the Fox-Wisconsin route—the old highway of the Indian and the fur-trader. Millions of dollars were eventually spent on this enterprise, in the expectation of being reimbursed by State and federal lands; but the legislature refused to recognize the claims of the company, and Tank, with others, suffered heavy losses.[3]

In the midst of the protracted annoyances incidental to the settlement of the canal affairs, Tank took a sudden illness, and died in 1864.

Very few men knew Mr. Tank. His antecedents, scholastic training, and experiences of life, all made him averse to confidential intercourse. On the other hand, his old neighbors at the mouth of the Fox have not yet forgotten their awe at his aristocratic bearing and perfect presence, which debarred them from treating him as an equal. With his scholastic training and excellent library, he found more pleasure by his fireside than in the outside world. At the time of his death, he had written extensive memoirs, throwing much light on the political game at the Norwegian court of his youth, as well as explaining his connection with the Herrnhut colony of Green Bay. He also left essays of much importance on the topography and minerals of Surinam, with reference to the gold beds of that country. These writings were subsequently to be published; but his wife, harassed by business cares, deferred the matter. Later, she became so disspirited through being frequently victimized by confidence games and bogus claims of charity, that, fearing unfavorable publicity, she ordered all of her husband's letters and writings to be destroyed.

By many, Tank's life was looked upon as a failure. Considered as a tragedy of miscarried hopes, it was. As were the ambitions of his father, the stern premier, so were the endeavors of his son, the scholastic pietist. But his failures were more pregnant with the elements of progress than are the successes of most men.

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[3] For the Fox River Improvement Company see *History of Northern Wisconsin* (Chicago, 1881), pp. 99, 100, and John Bell Sanborn, "Story of the Fox-Wisconsin Rivers Improvement," in Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1900.

His daughter and only child, a gifted young woman, died in 1872. His wife passed away in 1891. Her will provided that the remaining property, amounting to about $100,000, be distributed to different missions. The furnishings of the house, which were more like the contents of a museum of rare art than prosaic articles of housekeeping, were sold at auction, and the splendid collection of centuries was scattered for far less than its worth. The Kellogg Public Library at Green Bay is in possession of one of the chief pieces of furniture, a magnificent cabinet of unsurpassed workmanship, which eminent *connoisseurs* pronounce one of the finest examples of marquetry work in America.[4]

The Tank Library, numbering some 5,000 volumes, largely of Dutch books, had in 1868 been presented to the Wisconsin Historical Society. Information gleaned from some of the old Dutch atlases in this collection, in 1899, helped to settle the boundary dispute between England and Venezuela; thus doing its part in averting a possible war with Great Britain.

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[4] The Tank cottage is almost two hundred years old, being the first house in the Northwest built west of Fox River. It is now the oldest building in Wisconsin. It has been acquired by the city of Green Bay and moved to Union Park.

William Freeman Vilas

William Freeman Vilas

By Burr W. Jones, M. A.

For about forty years this Society has been honored by the membership of William Freeman Vilas, in whose memory I am asked to submit a brief sketch. He was born in Chelsea, Orange County, Vermont, July 9, 1840.

His father, Judge Levi B. Vilas, was also born in Vermont, and for forty years resided in that commonwealth, where he was a lawyer of state-wide reputation, and where he was long a member of the state assembly and for a time state senator. He was judge of probate, and once the choice of the Democratic party for United States senator. In 1837 he married Esther G. Smilie, a woman of rare gentleness and worth. William F., Henry, Levi M., Charles H., Edward P., and Esther were children born of this marriage, of whom only Charles and Edward now survive.

In 1851 Judge Vilas selected Madison, Wisconsin, as his future home, being actuated largely by the belief that this city would afford a far better opportunity than his Vermont home for the education of his children. In Wisconsin he was for twelve years a regent of the State University, was mayor of Madison, and during three terms member of the legislature. Before coming to Wisconsin, he had accumulated for those days a moderate fortune, and only for a brief time re-entered the profession in which he had won high reputation in his native state.

I cannot here dwell upon the boyhood of William F. Vilas. But I have been told by some of his comrades that, when he was a lad, he was among the foremost in all the sports in which they engaged; even as a boy he showed the energy and the masterful spirit, the zest for games and social enjoyment, which characterized his whole life. In those days our State University was both a preparatory school and a college. For seven years he there pursued his studies and graduated at the age of eighteen. He

then for two years attended the Albany Law School, in New York, where he formed some of those friendships which endured for many years. Among others there, he came to know Col. John H. Knight, and between them continued a warm and life-long friendship.

On his twentieth birthday, in the year 1860, he was admitted to the bar, and formed a law partnership at Madison with Eleazer Wakely, who is still living, and who was at one time chief justice of Nebraska. Mr. Vilas had, however, hardly entered upon the work of his profession when the stirring events of the War of Secession turned his thoughts to other things.

His father had been a life-long Democrat, and although the young lawyer had espoused the principles of that party, like most of his associates in the Northern states he had no sympathy with the doctrines of secession.

Before the outbreak of the war he had been captain of a local military company of zouaves. He was by no means lacking in military spirit, and, filled with enthusiasm for the Union cause, he quickly raised a company, being in 1862 commissioned as captain in the Twenty-third regiment. Guided by his zeal and enthusiasm, his company was the first fully organized in the regiment, and he was entitled to be the senior captain; he at first declined this honor, suggesting that it be given to some older man, but his brother officers insisted that he should bear the honor he had earned. He was rapidly promoted, soon became lieutenant-colonel, and for some time served in command of his regiment in the memorable hard-fought battles around Vicksburg and in its siege.

Soon after the fall of Vicksburg, he was urged by his father, who was then engaged in serious litigation largely affecting his property interests, to return and to come to his aid. He accordingly resigned his commission, much against his inclination, but never lost interest in the struggle and in the memorable campaigns in which the Army of the Tennessee engaged. He won distinguished honors in his military career and the enduring confidence and friendship of Generals Grant and Sherman, friendships which were shown in many ways and continued throughout the lives of those great generals.

In the later years of his life, Colonel Vilas had no keener enjoyment than in reunions with his old comrades. They remem-

bered his enthusiasm as a young officer, his zeal and care for their welfare; and it was one of his many services for the State, that for some years before his death he had taken an active part in planning the Military Park at Vicksburg and in assisting in there erecting monuments to commemorate the valor of his fellow soldiers.

On January 3, 1866, he married Anna M. Fox, daughter of Dr. William H. Fox, of Oregon, Wisconsin, who was as widely known and loved as any physician in Southern Wisconsin.

Following this marriage, came forty-two years and more of congenial and happy married life, saddened, however, by the deep affliction of the loss of three of their children. Levi Baker, a promising lad of seven, died in 1877. On April 3, 1893, Cornelia, at the age of twenty-five, was taken away, leaving behind her the fondest memories of a sweet and beautiful young life. The final blow came to the stricken father and mother, in the loss of their son Henry in 1899. He had graduated at the State University and its Law School, had married in 1897, and around him had centred the brightest hopes of his stricken parents.

It is doubtful if after this blow the fond father ever quite regained his old buoyancy of spirit; and as the evening of life came on, his solicitude and tenderness for his brave and faithful wife and for his daughter, Mrs. Lucien M. Hanks, and his two little grandchildren, showed his deep anxiety and his fond hope that they might be spared to him.

After his return from military service he entered upon the practice of the law, and until 1885 continued without interruption in the profession he dearly loved. Although he was thoroughly equipped in every way, and endowed with natural eloquence and great attractiveness of manner, he never relied upon these gifts for success. With untiring industry, he in each case mastered every detail of fact and law, and soon became one of the most successful and well known of the lawyers of this Commonwealth. Before he was thirty years of age he had won a State reputation, and was fully a match for any of the gifted lawyers of the capital city.

He chiefly differed from his distinguished associates of the bar, in his wonderful versatility. He stood in the very front rank in his powers of persuasion and eloquence. He mastered the principles of the law; he studied with delight the decisions

of the great jurists; he was equally at home before a jury of farmers or the ablest judges upon the bench. He had a natural aptitude for business, and could master with facility the complications of accounts and commercial details. He was equally at home in defending one accused of murder, or in construing statutes, or in arguing abstract principles of law. If he had won distinction in no other fields, his reputation as a lawyer would have given him an enduring fame in the history of his State.

It was natural that one of his temperament should take a deep interest in public affairs. Very early in his manhood he was in constant demand for those occasional addresses so often demanded of the eloquent lawyer. In every political campaign after his return from the war, until he became postmaster-general, and for years afterward, no citizen of the State was in greater demand as the advocate and defender of his party. Long before he entered upon public life, his fame as an orator had become national. By a single speech delivered in Chicago in 1879, at a banquet given in honor of General Grant by the Society of the Army of Tennessee, he placed himself among the most prominent orators of this country.

When little more than thirty years of age, he was recognized as one of the leaders of his party in this State. He was sent as a delegate to the national conventions in 1876, 1880, 1884, 1892, and 1896. Many times his party would gladly have followed him as their leader, had he been willing to accept the nomination for governor; but he early formed the resolution not to abandon his profession for politics.

Governor Taylor tendered him the appointment as chief justice of the supreme court of Wisconsin, as the successor of Chief Justice Dixon; but even this honor, which strongly appealed to his professional ambition, was declined in order that he might hold to his cherished purposes.

When thirty-five years of age he was appointed one of a commission of three to revise the Statutes of Wisconsin, and for about three years, while carrying on his professional work, he labored with accustomed energy in the performance of this duty. It was a great undertaking, one that furnished additional proof of his industry and learning, and one that helped to prepare him for the still greater responsibilities yet to come. From the very beginning of the University Law School, in 1868, until

1885, he served without interruption as one of its professors, bringing to the work all his power and enthusiasm.

In the fall of 1884 he departed from his usual custom and accepted the nomination as a member of the assembly. During this session happened that memorable disaster in which Science Hall of the State University was burned to ashes. To the friends of the University it seemed an appalling catastrophe. The legislature was hard pressed from every quarter, for necessary appropriations. There were few who dared to hope that the building could be replaced for some years. But it was in such emergencies as this that the real mettle of Colonel Vilas was shown. With determined energy he undertook the task of restoring to the University its loss. As the climax of his efforts he made a memorable address to the legislature, one which, I think, he regarded as the best he ever made. There was no longer doubt of the result and the appropriation was made. The disaster, the remarkable plea of Colonel Vilas, and the generous patriotism of the legislature, attracted wide comment in other states.

It was during this session of the legislature that he was called to a public service of immense responsibility. His wide fame as an orator had led to his election as chairman of the National Democratic Convention in 1884. By his address on that occasion, in which with his usual power he outlined the policies of his party, he won the admiration of Mr. Cleveland. When the latter selected his cabinet, he chose Mr. Vilas, then about forty-five years of age, as postmaster-general. With all his wide experience in other fields, Mr. Vilas had had little experience in public life, and all his efforts in public affairs had been in behalf of his friends. There had been no Democratic cabinet for twenty-five years. On the accession of the party so long in the minority, there came an eager struggle for the patronage and the offices of which Democrats had so long been deprived. Far more than any officer in the federal government, the postmaster-general was subjected to pressure for place. Mr. Vilas foresaw that he could not hope to satisfy the claims which would be made upon him, that he must disappoint and estrange many who had been his friends. While he met this trying responsibility as well as possible, he conceived it to be still more important to bring about reforms in the postal service.

Mr. Cleveland had known his power as an orator, his popularity with his party, and his fame as a lawyer, but he had not realized his remarkable power as a man of affairs and business. His quick comprehension of all the complications of the postal system amazed the president and his brother members of the cabinet. It was no secret that very early the president learned to rely upon him, not only to carry the loads of the postal service but in the other great problems of administration. To those who knew Colonel Vilas it was early predicted that in this new field of labor he would win the admiration of his colleagues. But he did far more than this. His reports showed such profound knowledge of all the needs of his department, that he won the support of senators and members of the opposing party, who soon found that although he did not neglect his duties in dispensing patronage he recognized that his paramount duty was to render efficient service to the government.

During his service in this position, there was a memorable struggle in which he opposed a $400,000 subsidy to ocean steamers. A statute granting this amount had already been passed by the last Congress. Colonel Vilas pointed out the defects in the law, claiming that it was impossible of execution. The question came before the new Congress, and there is no doubt but that his arguments were largely influential in leading many Republicans to vote against the bill and to cause its defeat. He had entered into this contest well knowing the power and influence of the interests backing the proposed subsidies. During all his years of manhood he had fought the theory that the government should bestow favors upon special interests, and he always looked with great satisfaction upon this victory.

During all this service as postmaster-general, Mr. Vilas delighted in the hearty co-operation of his companion and friend, Gen. Edwin E. Bryant, whom he loved as a brother and who had become assistant attorney-general in the post office department. For many years they had worked together as partners, and now they again worked as partners in the public service—often to the early hours of morning, paying little heed to the social life of Washington, laboring to bring order out of chaos in one of the great departments of the government.

After several years of these labors, a remarkable tribute was paid by the president to the capacity and energy of his post-

master-general. He called upon Colonel Vilas to place upon a similar footing another department of state, and appointed him secretary of the interior. He had already proved himself a great administrative officer; he was now called to a department calling for the same capacity, and also demanding a lawyer of the first rank. All the complicated legal questions involving many millions of dollars growing out of the tangled system of statutes affecting land grants, were pressing upon the office. The Pension Bureau, the Patent Office, the Land Department, the Indian Service, all had their complications, and all called for the kind of ability and courage and industry, that he was known to possess. In this new field of work it was his duty to render many judicial decisions, involving often new questions of law, the titles to vast tracts of land, the rights of settlers, and the rights of the Indian tribes. He found the work of his department several years behindhand; but on his retirement he had almost succeeded in clearing up the vast accumulation of work that he had found awaiting him.

Soon after he left his post, at the close of President Cleveland's term, there ensued other scenes of political activity. In the year 1890 came the State campaign upon new issues in Wisconsin politics. Mr. Vilas had greatly regretted the defeat of Mr. Cleveland for reelection in 1888, and he hoped for a reversal in the next great campaign of the people's former verdict. Having in mind present and future issues as well, he entered into the State campaign with his usual enthusiasm, and when success came to the Democratic party, and the legislature was able to elect a Democratic successor to Senator Spooner, there was no doubt on whom the choice would rest, or the fitness of the choice. When Colonel Vilas entered the senate of the United States, he was the peer of any of his great predecessors from Wisconsin. No one of them had been more learned or eloquent; no one of them, at the time of taking the office, had had the stern training which comes from presiding at the head of two of the great departments of government.

It was but natural that in Mr. Cleveland's second term he should lean upon one who had performed such herculean labors in his former administration. There was at that time no stronger debater in the senate, than Colonel Vilas. There was no one who had known so intimately all the details of policy of

Mr. Cleveland's former administration, which were often subjected to partisan criticism. Mr. Vilas soon became known as the defender and supporter of the administration in the senate. This subjected him of course to the embarrassment and the criticism necessarily incident to such a place. But disloyalty was a thing unknown to William F. Vilas. He bore the inevitable criticism, and during the four years of Mr. Cleveland's second administration fearlessly fought the battles of his party and his chief. It was a period of embarrassment and trial, one in the midst of a great financial panic, in which whether justly or unjustly the administration and those connected with it were subjected to the fiercest attack.

Time will not permit a detailed examination of the senatorial record of Mr. Vilas. It suffices to say that although he had only one senatorial term, there was no more conspicuous member of the senate within his party, and no one on whom the president leaned so much. There seems every reason to believe that, if his fortunes had been cast in early life with the dominant political party in his State, his eloquence, his learning, his marvelous capacity, his masterful spirit, would have made him for a long period of years a great leader in public life.

In the year 1896 there came to the Democratic party one of those sudden changes which now and then greatly affect American politics. Periods of great financial distress are almost certain to bring to the front new theories of finance. No men in public life had labored more zealously to prevent the evils of a depreciated currency, than Grover Cleveland and William F. Vilas. They were by no means blind to the perils besetting any dominant party in times of financial distress, but they probably did not fully foresee the radical change of public sentiment that made possible the celebrated free silver campaign of 1896. When his party at Chicago committed itself to that view, Mr. Vilas, together with many who had been the chosen leaders of the party for many years, refused to support the platform and the candidate. He bore a very prominent part in the National Democratic convention at Indianapolis which placed General Palmer in nomination for the presidency. In that convention he drafted much of the platform, as he had borne a conspicuous part in the preparation of platforms in former national conventions.

This revolution in the history of the Democratic party greatly affected the political fortunes of many of those who had long been its trusted leaders. Although most of the rank and file of the party followed their new leader and the new platform, and although there was often bitterness expressed because Colonel Vilas did not yield his convictions and support the new platform, no one doubted the sincerity of his motives. His friends well knew the sorrow and regret with which he parted from the comrades with whom for many years he had fought the battles of his party. This is no time for the discussion of the wisdom of his choice; but it is undoubtedly the fact that the adoption of the free silver platform in 1896 greatly affected his public career, as it did that of most of those who had long been the leaders of the party.

After returning from the senate, Mr. Vilas never actively re-entered the profession of the law. He continued to assist his party in its campaigns, whenever he could support its platforms, but gave comparatively little time to politics.

It is one of the proofs of his wonderful versatility, that during all the years of legal practice, during all his strenuous life in Washington, he had kept alive his enthusiastic love of the best literature, a passion dating back to his University days. Those who knew him intimately, well remember his remarkable familiarity with the great poets and the best prose writers of England and America. On his retirement from public life, he found in his spacious, well-filled library, that solace and delight that only the lovers of good literature can ever know.

It must not be inferred that the last ten years of his life were without other activities. He had always been successful as a practitioner and as a financier; but the lawyer, however successful, seldom accumulates a fortune. Before he entered public life he had accumulated a fair competence, nothing more. He had received some inheritance from his father; but, as was well known to his friends, the great fortune of which the State of Wisconsin becomes the chief beneficiary, was made during the last ten years of his life. During that period, when he was neither bearing the cares of clients nor the burdens of public responsibility, he was making investments in many fields, that brought him large returns. Although cautious and far-seeing, he was courageous, almost fearless, in his business plans. After

thorough investigation in making his investments, he would incur an indebtedness that would have appalled him if, in younger days, it had been suggested by a client.

Any sketch of the life of Colonel Vilas that failed to mention his love for the State University and his loyalty to his State, would be wholly inadequate. Much of his public service was rendered at a time when public men were too often lacking in a keen appreciation of the favorite maxim of Colonel Vilas's father, that "Public office is a public trust." Too many of his contemporaries in public life failed to realize that the power of place and patronage must not be used to serve private ends.

So scrupulous was he in this regard, that he often refused to receive compensation for public service, even though to do so would have been within the strict letter of the law. While regent of the State University he several times refused to accept pay for laborious service in litigation for the State. While United States senator he gave his time lavishly, helping to save to the State hundreds of thousands of dollars in the treasury suits, but declined to receive the slightest compensation. In the last years of his life, when he talked freely with his friends of the scenes of his eventful life, it was plain that he looked on no part of that life with such satisfaction as that in which he had served the State without hope of reward.

For many years he gave freely of his time in serving as one of the Board of Regents of the State University. A considerable part of the last years of his life was spent in earnest toil as a member of the Capitol Commission, and it was his fond hope that its new capitol building might be an edifice worthy of the great State he loved, and that the work might be completed without suspicion that the State had been defrauded of a cent.

The first years of his young manhood were given to his country, the very last days of his busy life were devoted to his State. It was a fitting climax to his remarkable career of patriotic devotion to the State, that he should bestow upon it by far the largest benefaction which any citizen has yet contributed. The State of Wisconsin is the chief legatee of his handsome fortune; but far more than that, it is the inheritor of the honor of a great citizen, whose talents and patriotism will shed lustre upon her name forever.

The British Ministry and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix[1]

By Clarence Walworth Alvord, Ph. D.

In the seventh decade of the eighteenth century a newspaper contributor in Great Britain wrote the following concerning the rapid succession of ministries that had attempted the government of the country during the early years of the reign of George III:[2]

> The variety of persons, who within a very short compass of years, have been produced to the public in the first employments of the state, hath diverted our attention from a more important object; from the measures they have pursued or meant to pursue. Amused and deluded by a succession of illustrious names, we have hardly had time to consider their different systems of administration, and have been more anxious to know by whom employments were filled, than how they were executed.

To the present-day student of the period, the same difficulty presents itself under a similar guise; for the kaleidoscopic changes in the British ministry during the middle of the eighteenth century renders the tracing of the ministerial de-

[1] It is the expectation of the writer to publish, in the near future, a more complete treatment of his conclusions concerning the Western policy of the British ministry than is contained in the following pages. For this reason, and on account of the shortness of time before the manuscript was to be sent to the press, it seemed sufficient to indicate the conclusions without setting forth the complete line of argument; although reference has been made to the principal sources for the interpretation herein maintained.

[2] Almon, *A New and Impartial Collection of Interesting Letters from the Public Papers*—Sept., 1760 to May, 1767, vol. ii, p. 218. Letter from Vindex.

velopment interesting, while it has made difficult the discovery of the principles of policy. Instead of several distinct parties with definite platforms, such as is characteristic of the present politics of Great Britain, there were in the middle of the eighteenth century many groups of men around their several leaders, whose chief object was office-holding. To accomplish this end the various groups were willing to make combinations with almost no consideration of conflicting policies. In fact, one of the prevailing theories of government justified such non-partisan ministries, by preaching the need of harmony between king and parliament, which could never be maintained by the predominance of either, as had been the case in former years.

Arbitrary absolutism under the Stuarts, and party government under the supremacy of the Old Whig nobility, had both been tried. Harmony could be obtained, it was thought, by a ministry composed of all factions working in union with the king. This theory made acceptable to many politicians of that period the hybrid ministry, composed of opposing groups, which the Earl of Chatham brought together in 1766, and that not less curious combination of 1768 under the Duke of Grafton.[3]

It would be a hopeless task to seek for ministerial policies in such a jumble of factions, were the groups and sub-groups of politicians, with their personal biases, not easily distinguishable; and if the hostility of certain groups to each other did not render combination difficult, if not impossible. Thus among the various factions, such as George Grenville's, the Duke of Bedford's, the Duke of Newcastle's, the Earl of Bute's, the Marquis of Rockingham's, and William Pitt's, with the sub-groups led by Lord Shelburne and Conway, we find that certain of these would not act with others. In spite of attempts at reconciliation, the Rockinghams would not join with the Grenvilles, and the Bedfords always objected to Conway and Shelburne. It is out of such slight indications that we must draw an interpretation of the policy favored by any given ministry. This is the purpose of the present paper, wherein it is attempted to trace the Western policy of the ministry from the autumn of 1763 to the autumn of 1768.

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[3] Ruville, *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham* (New York, 1907), iii, p. 9.

British Western Policy

The period which has been selected begins with a definite act on the part of the ministry; namely, the proclamation of 1763, wherein is formulated for the first time the policy proposed to be followed towards the West. The intermediate time is one of constantly changing or inchoate ministries, when the West as such received very slight attention, so that it is most difficult to determine what was the attitude of the ministerial party at any given time. The period ends with the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1768, which is the first definitive action taken after the proclamation. Our subject narrows itself down, therefore, to tracing the relation between these two acts, the Proclamation of 1763 and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix.

It was my pleasure a year ago to read a paper on the "Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763" before the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society.[4] The limited time for this paper forbids a reproduction of the arguments advanced at that time; but for my present purpose it is necessary that I should review very briefly some of my conclusions. The management of Indian affairs during the previous years had been so badly conducted by the several colonies, that the natives were being continually exasperated, until they broke out in the uprising known in history as Pontiac's War.

The particular grievances of the Indians were, the irregular practices of the traders, and the illegal encroachments on their lands by the colonists. After a careful examination of the conditions, the British ministry determined that the only means of maintaining justice in their relation with the native tribes, was to centralize the management directly under the imperial government. This was the purpose of the proclamation. The policy formulated at that time, as far as it interests the argument of this paper, may be divided under the following headings:

First. There should be established a boundary between the lands that may be settled by white men and those reserved for the Indians.

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[4] Printed in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* (Lansing, 1908), xxxvi.

The Treaty of Fort Stanwix was but one of a series of Indian treaties, which mark the definite step in the development of the Western policy, to which reference is made.

Second. The land reserved for the Indians should be opened up for future colonization only through purchase by the crown.

Third. Regulations for the Indian trade should be made in the future.

Two of these subjects require some further notice. On account of the outbreak of Pontiac's War, the ministry felt the necessity of determining immediately a temporary boundary line in order to reassure the Indians. Therefore, the line of the Appalachian divide was chosen; but this was to be replaced, as soon as peace with the Indians was secured, by a line farther to the westward, which should include the already partially-settled lands of the upper Ohio region. The neglect to do this, was the cause of many disturbances on the frontier, caused by speculators and settlers pushing westward in anticipation of the ministerial action.

The ministerial policy in regard to future settlements beyond this Indian boundary line, is not so easy to determine. Lord Shelburne was responsible for the wording of these passages concerning Indian affairs, and there can be no doubt but that he, like his friend Benjamin Franklin, anticipated a time when colonies would be planted as far west as the Mississippi. As far as our scanty evidence shows, his colleagues agreed with him in this; but this subject became, in the period under consideration, the one concerning which there was the greatest disagreement among the ministers. Should the policy of westward expansion be decided upon, it would be necessary to establish western boundaries for several colonies, such as Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, which claimed the West on account of their sea-to-sea charters, and any action directed to that end was likely to arouse protests from the Americans. This policy was frequently contemplated, and at times apparently adopted, by the ministry; but positive and final action was deferred till the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, which brought all negotiations to an end.[5]

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[5] For the history of the proposed colony of Vandalia, to which reference is made, see Alden, *New Governments West of the Alleghanies before 1780* (Madison, 1897), pp. 19 *et seq.*

After the resignation of Lord Shelburne from the presidency of the Board of Trade,[6] in early September, 1763, his place was filled by Lord Hillsborough, who enjoyed the favor of the Bedford faction. The new president had had no experience in colonial affairs, and, since the situation on the frontiers was critical, he adopted the proclamation already partially written by Lord Shelburne; and this was issued on October 7, 1763. The policy announced at this time remained, practically unchanged, as the ministerial policy for over four years. Before 1768, Lord Hillsborough did not, except in minor details, oppose the plan for the West formulated by his predecessor. This is true also of those who succeeded him as president of the Board of Trade, and of those who held the more important position of secretary

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[6] For a discussion of the Board of Trade, see Kellogg, "The American Colonial Charter," in American Historical Association *Report*, 1903 (Washington 1904), pp. 214 *et seq.* The administration of colonial affairs was complicated by the exercise of power by both the secretary of state for the Southern department and the Board of Trade, who were not always in agreement concerning policies. During the period under discussion three methods of unifying the administration were tried. From 1757 to 1766, the president of the Board of Trade was generally given a seat in the ministry, where he could defend the recommendations of himself and his colleagues. In July, 1766, at the coming into power of the Chatham ministry, the Board of Trade gave up all its executive functions to the secretary of state for the Southern department, so that one man became responsible for all colonial policies. In January, 1768, another step was taken towards unification, when the new secretaryship of state for the colonies was created. Shortly after that, this secretary became president of the Board of Trade also.—Smyth, *Life and Writings of Benj. Franklin* (N. Y., 1905), v., pp. 147, 149. Throughout the period the members of the Board of Trade appear generally willing to follow the lead of their president or of the secretary of state, and at no time does there appear much initiative among the subordinate members, although a close study of the personnel of the Board of Trade is necessary, before accepting exclusively this view. See *Grenville Papers* (London, 1852–53), ii, pp. 219, 246, iii, pp. 73, 81; Walpole, *Memoirs of George III* (New York, 1894), ii, p. 236.

Shelburne resigned at this time because of the failure of the negotiations to secure the co-operation of Pitt.—*Chatham Correspondence* (London, 1838), ii, pp. 241, 245.

of state for the Southern department, the office that had general charge of colonial affairs.

The principal duty in regard to Western affairs that remained for Lord Hillsborough, was to carry out two lines of policy that had already been determined. These were to draw up the regulations for the Indian trade, and to establish by treaty with the Indians the boundary line west of the Alleghanies. On account of the unsettled condition of the Indians due to the war, Lord Hillsborough was unable, before he was superseded, to take up this latter subject, although he kept it constantly in mind. The new president of the Board of Trade undertook, however, to work out the regulations of trade. In this he was ably assisted by the Indian agent, Sir William Johnson, and others, who kept up a continuous correspondence with him concerning the subject.[7]

The result of these efforts, was a plan for the future management of the Indian trade, that was submitted to Johnson and others for criticism on July 10, 1764.[8] The plan contemplated the complete centralization of Indian affairs. The representatives of the British government were to be two superintendents, one for the Northern department and one for the Southern, under each of whom were deputy agents, commissaries, and other minor officials. All relations with the Indians were to be conducted through these officers. For the maintenance of justice among the traders and Indians, the deputy agents and commissaries were, in civil and criminal cases, to be granted the judicial power of justices of the peace; and the right of appeal to the superintendents, in major cases, was reserved to all pleaders in the courts. Trade was to be permitted only at designated posts, where commissaries were to be stationed. That the Lords of Trade had in mind the prevention of some of the evils from which the Indian trade had suffered under the previous management of the colonies, is shown by the articles prohibiting the sale of liquors to the Indians and the one fixing the price of goods. The last articles dealt with the boundary which was still to be established, and prove that the Board of Trade intended to follow the policy of Shelburne in this matter.

[7] See correspondence in *N. Y. Colon. Docs.* (Albany, 1856), vii.

[8] Printed in *Ibid.*, pp. 637 *et seq.*

This plan for the management of trade was, in the course of time, submitted to many persons for criticism. Sir William Johnson approved the spirit of the plan, and criticised only a few articles. His acceptance of the plan as a whole might have been anticipated, as the Board of Trade had followed almost exclusively the recommendations which he had made during the past years.[9] The criticisms of Lieutenant Governor Colden of New York and those of Colonel Bradstreet were also distinctly favorable.[10] A few years later Lord Shelburne asked Benjamin Franklin for his opinion. He answered: "The regulations in this plan seem to me in general very good." He then proceeded to make a few criticisms of several details, such as fixing prices and the prohibition of the sale of liquor.[11]

The Grenville ministry adopted the plan, but since the maintenance of the proposed establishment would be expensive, and the principle of the ministry was economy, it was proposed by the Lords of Trade to lay a tax on the Indian trade for the support of the Indian government. This required an act of parliament, but the subject was never pushed; and later the outcry of the colonists against the stamp act made such action appear inexpedient.[12]

In July, 1765, the Grenvilles yielded to the Rockingham ministry. This was the only true party ministry of the period. It was composed of representatives of the old line Whigs, who were distinctly favorable to the American colonies. The attention of the ministry during its year of life was so occupied with undoing the acts of its predecessor, such as the stamp act, the cider act, etc., that the question of the West never became a live issue. That the ministry was in favor of a liberal policy, is proved by the offer of the presidency of the Board of Trade to Lord Shelburne, but this he refused.[13] Conway became secretary of state for the Southern department; after Shelburne's refusal, the presidency of the Board of Trade was given to Lord Dartmouth; and the personnel of the board was taken

[9] Johnson to Lords of Trade, Oct. 8, 1764, *Ibid*, p. 661.

[10] Colden to Lords of Trade, Oct. 12, 1764 and Bradstreet to Lords of Trade, Dec. 4, 1764, *Ibid*, pp. 667, 690.

[11] Smyth, *Life and Writings of Franklin*, iv, p. 467.

[12] *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vii, pp. 634, 964.

[13] *Rockingham Memoirs* (London, 1852), i, p. 234.

over from the previous ministry almost without change.[14] Although there is no act of these men during this year to indicate their attitude toward the West, their later acts and letters show that they were ready to accept the policy that had been so ably formulated by Lord Shelburne in the Proclamation of 1763. This is as much as can be said concerning the Western policy of the Rockingham ministry.

In July, 1766, the newly-created Earl of Chatham came into office again and formed his "broad bottom ministry," which included representatives from as many factions as was possible. Chatham brought into the ministry only four of his immediate followers, among whom was Shelburne. He was made secretary of state for the Southern department, and was granted liberty to carry out his American policy.

It is surprising to find Lord Hillsborough accepting the position of president of the Board of Trade under Shelburne. In a letter[15] to George Grenville, Hillsborough explained that the position as it was offered to him by the minister carried with it a seat in the cabinet; but that he refused the presidency unless the board was made a committee for report only, and was relieved of all the executive functions that had been acquired during the last decade. The letter contains many insinuations against an unnamed person, who can only be Lord Shelburne; but the fact remains that Shelburne made the offer, and Hillsborough accepted the post on condition that Shelburne assume all executive duties, and thus have a free hand to carry out his American policy. Hillsborough did this in the year 1766—Hillsborough, who has been regarded as a constant opponent of the expansion of the colonies westward.

The explanation is to be found in the fact that since the year 1763, the question of the West had not been a live issue, and that while Hillsborough was president of the Board of Trade, he had shown his willingness to carry out Shelburne's policy, as far as action was needed at the time. In 1766, therefore, there was no means for either to know that they would differ radically when the West should again enter the horizon of ministerial policy. As far as the trouble in the seaboard

[14] *Grenville Papers*, iii, pp. 73, 254.

[15] *Ibid*, p. 294.

colonies was concerned, it is apparent that Hillsborough was willing to give Shelburne every opportunity.[16] Within two years the two men were to discover that they differed on many questions; but before that time, Hillsborough had resigned his subordinate position in order to enter upon other duties. This occurred in December, 1766. Lord Clare accepted his place on the Board of Trade, and he also appears to have been ready to follow rather than to lead.[17]

Never was there a weaker ministry than this one of the Earl of Chatham's. Before the end of the year, Chatham himself withdrew, on account of illness, from active participation in affairs, and left to Grafton and Conway the guidance of the ministry. But his deputies constantly feared to assume responsibility for action without consulting their chief, who almost as constantly denied them access to his presence.[18] Shelburne was not on friendly terms with his colleagues, was frequently absent from meetings, and would have willingly resigned had he not regarded himself as Chatham's personal representative.[19] It was hardly to be expected that definitive action would come from such a jellyfish body; yet it was this ministry that was to take the first step toward the completion of the policy of 1763.

You will recall that I grouped this policy under three headings: first, the establishment of an Indian boundary line west of the Alleghanies; second, the purchase of territory west of this line for the purpose of colonization; and third, the announcement of regulations for the Indian trade. Nothing had been done towards carrying out any of these provisions. It is not surprising, therefore, that the father of the policy, Lord Shelburne, should urge the ministry to action.

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[16] That Hillsborough was at this time regarded as a supporter of the Chatham policies is proved by the letters exchanged by Chatham and Shelburne, when it was proposed to offer the Spanish mission to Hillsborough. Chatham is surprised at the proposal which meant "unfixing the most critical office in the kingdom so happily fixed through and by my channel."—*Chatham Correspondence*, iii, pp. 114, 115, 121.

[17] *Rockingham Memoirs*, i, p. 78.

[18] *Memoirs of Duke of Grafton* (London, 1898), pp. 109 *et seq.*

[19] Fitzmaurice, *Life of Shelburne* (London, 1876), ii, pp. 59 *et seq.*

Before following Shelburne's career, it will be necessary to take a hasty glance at affairs in America, so that we may follow the sequence of events. Since 1763 settlers had been crowding across the mountains, which were still the boundary line, and settling in the upper Ohio valley.[20] The settlement at Pittsburg was already called a town, and pioneers were finding their way down the river in the search of fertile fields, thus invading territory where the Indian titles had not yet been purchased by the crown. Although the ministry had fully intended that this territory should be opened for settlement, the delay in establishing the proposed boundary line made the action of the frontiersmen distinctly illegal, and contrary to solemn pledges given to the Indians. In spite of the exertions of Sir William Johnson, and because of the failure to proclaim the needed regulations of the trade, the Indians were as systematically and regularly cheated as under the former rule of the colonies.[21] For both these causes Indian outbreaks occurred, settlers and traders were killed, and a general Indian war was imminent, so that it was time that the ministry should act.

At the same time pressure was being brought by Americans upon the ministry, to fulfill the implied policy of the famous proclamation and to open up to colonization wide stretches of land west of the proposed boundary. As early as 1762, General Amherst urged the erection of a colony around Detroit.[22] In the spring of 1763 some Virginians, among whom the Washingtons and Lees were conspicuous, formed the Mississippi Company for the purpose of establishing a settlement on that great Western river. George Croghan wrote from London, in 1764, that there was talk of a colony in the Illinois country,

[20] The correspondence of the period is full of this westward movement. The most accessible collection of letters is in O'Callaghan, *Documentary History of New York*, ii, pp. 881 *et seq.* See also Washington's Journal in Ford, *Writings of George Washington* (New York, 1889), ii, pp. 289 *et seq.*

[21] *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vii, p. 960. This reference is to a very able review of the Indian relations by Sir William Johnson, written to Lord Shelburne, Sept. 22, 1767.

[22] Shelburne MSS., in Historical Manuscripts Commission *Report*, v. 1876 (London, 1876), p. 217.

and that he was recommending to the ministry such an undertaking. At about the same time General Lyman went to London to promote his scheme of a settlement on the lower Mississippi. In 1766 some Philadelphia merchants, having learned of the possibility of a colony in the Illinois, associated with themselves Governor Franklin and Sir William Johnson in a company to take up a large tract of land in that region. Benjamin Franklin was made a member of the company, and was appointed its representative in London, where it might be expected that his friendship with Lord Shelburne would give him an advantage over his competitors for ministerial favors.[23]

Moved by the petitions and letters of these interested parties, Lord Shelburne began in the fall of 1767 to put into execution his comprehensive plan for the West. The first subject to receive his attention was that of the boundary line, concerning which he had received letters from General Gage, Sir William Johnson, and others. How unimportant this whole subject had been deemed by the ministry during the last few years, is shown by the fact that the letters from the Indian superintendents, announcing that arrangements were already made with the Indians to cede the required territory, had been mislaid; and it was only after diligent search that they were found.[24]

The actual urgency of the case, for an Indian war was threatening, compelled the Board of Trade, on December 23, 1767, to agree with Shelburne in recommending that the line should immediately be established; and orders were sent to America to that effect.[25] By a series of treaties—the one at Fort Stanwix with the Iroquois, and that of Lochabar, in 1770, with the Southern Indians, being the most important—a continuous boundary line was run from the Great Lakes, back of the Appalachians, around the coast of Florida, and through the southern part of the East and West Floridas, almost to the

[23] For the substance of this whole paragraph see Alden, *New Governments*. The subject of these land projects has been ably worked up by Dr. C. E. Carter of Illinois College, who expects shortly to make public the results of his research. The conclusions which he has reached will change several traditional views of the subject.

[24] Smyth, *Writings of Franklin*, v, pp. 67, 68, 113.

[25] *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vii, p. 1004.

Mississippi River.[26] Thus, in accordance with the policy intended at the time of the Proclamation of 1763, a large extent of territory was opened up to immediate settlement, the most important part of which lay south of the Ohio and extended westward to the Great Kanawha.

To understand Shelburne's plans for Indian management and the erection of colonies within the Indian reservation, the financial situation in England must be kept in mind. The ministry had been greatly embarrassed by the success of the opposition in cutting down the British land tax from four to three shillings in the pound. The consequence of this was, a demand upon all departments for economy, and a desire to find revenue from other sources. Charles Townshend, the chancellor of the exchequer, proposed to the ministry his famous duties on imports into the American colonies, in order to compensate somewhat for this loss of income.

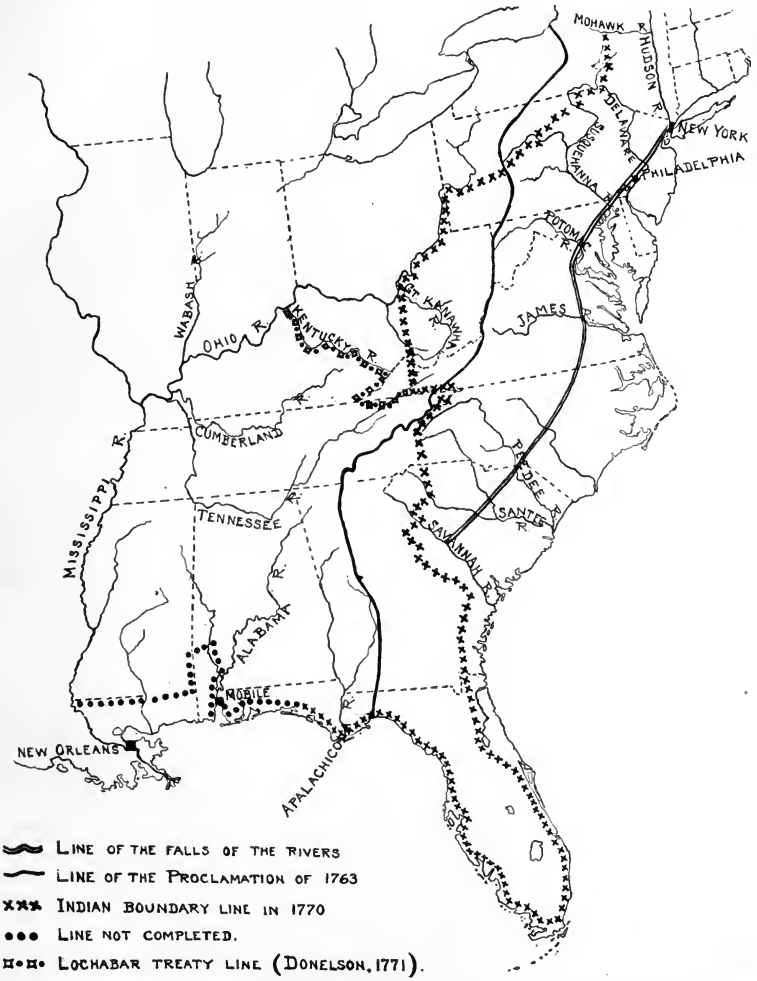
This proposal called from Shelburne a letter to Chatham, dated February 1, 1767, in which he briefly outlined his plans for raising a revenue in America. "I have always thought," he wrote, "the quit rents may be so managed, without having too great a retrospect, as to produce a certain sum; and I have likewise had reason to think that such a new method of granting lands might be devised, under the direction of my Lord President, as might give infinite satisfaction to America, contribute to the ascertaining property, preventing future suits at law, and in great measure prevent the Indian disturbances, and besides all, incidentally produce a certain revenue, without its being the object."[27] During the summer, these ideas assumed more concrete form, and led to direct proposals. His plan and reasons are set forth in the following quotable words in a letter to General Gage on November 14, 1767:[28]

The enormous expence attending the present method of employing the Troops cantoned in the back settlements and frontier posts of

[26] For a full discussion and his map of the line see Farrand, "The Indian Boundary Line," in *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, x, No. 4. See also the map herewith published, in the preparation of which I have had the co-operation of both Prof. F. J. Turner and the Editor of the present volume, Dr. Thwaites.

[27] *Chatham Correspondence*, iii, p. 185.

[28] *Sparks MSS.*, in Harvard University Library, xlii, vol. 3, p. 120.



[Based in part on map by Farrand, in *American Historical Review*, x, No. 4]

North America with the heavy contingent charges arising from the transportation of Stores, and the danger to which the discipline of the army is exposed to by the regiments being broken into small detachments, have all been very often and very justly represented in your letters. To remedy these evils no measure seems to bid fairer than one, which by establishing Governments where provisions and necessaries may be furnished on the spot, will render half the posts now kept up unnecessary, while the remainder may be partly transferred to the care of the several Provinces, and partly maintained at a much less expence. The illicit Trade with the French and Spaniards will be intercepted by our Traders in their passage; the Indians will be prevented from incursions into the back settlements, precise and definite boundaries will be put to the old Colonies; the Trade and Manufactures of Great Britain will be extended into the remotest Indian Nations; and such posts only will require to be garrisoned as command the different Indian communications or the intercourse between His Majesty's different Colonies by the great Rivers and Lakes.

These were the ideas that inspired Shelburne's communication of October 5, 1767, to the Board of Trade, wherein he outlined the scope of his Western policy.[29] He pointed out that the present method of managing Indian affairs was very expensive, and that, if the plan proposed by Lord Hillsborough in 1764 were now put into execution, this expense would be increased; and he intimated that the colonials were better able to manage these delicate matters than a ministry unfamiliar with the nature of the Indians. He recommended, therefore, that the British Government renounce the attempt to centralize the management of the Indian trade, and place it in the control of the colonies, as was the case a decade before.

His other recommendation reminds us of Franklin's plan to cut up the whole West into colonies.[30] Shelburne desired that three new colonies be formed at this time: one at the mouth of the Ohio, one at Detroit, and the third at the Illinois. This plan proposed the immediate purchase from the Indians of territory west of the boundary line, which was according to Shelburne's plan to be made the western boundary of the Eastern colonies. The policy received the support of Secretary Conway,

[29] *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vii, p. 981.

[30] Smyth, *Writings of Franklin*, iv, p. 70.

and it was expected that the members of the Board of Trade could be persuaded to recommend it.[31]

Before the Board of Trade could make any recommendation concerning these proposals, changes in the ministry occurred, which withdrew the management of colonial affairs from Shelburne's hands. For many months negotiations had been conducted by the Duke of Grafton, who was selected as head of the proposed new combination, although the Earl of Chatham still retained his position in the ministry. After the failure to secure the co-operation of other factions, Grafton determined to unite with the Bedfords, in spite of their known hostility to the American colonies.[32] For two reasons it was determined to divide the secretaryship of state for the Southern department: first, because the duties were too many to be properly performed by one man, particularly since colonial affairs had become so important; and secondly, in order to create a new position in the cabinet for a friend of the Bedfords. The division of the secretaryship into that of the Southern department and that of the American colonies was not a new proposal, for it had been discussed by the two previous ministries.[33]

This decision affected Shelburne's department, and the negotiations throw some light on the attitude of his colleagues toward his colonial policy. The Bedfords, who believed in coercive measures towards the colonies, desired that Shelburne should retain the Southern department and leave to them the American affairs. But this did not please the Duke of Grafton, who urged Shelburne to take charge of the new department; because, he said, "the Bedfords cannot be trusted with it, on account of different principles" and because he (Grafton) was well pleased with Shelburne's administration. Shelburne, however, preferred to retain charge of European affairs, unless he received from the Earl of Chatham an order to the contrary.

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[31] *Id.*, v, p. 46.

[32] *Memoirs of Duke of Grafton*, pp. 139 *et seq.*; *Bedford Correspondence* (London, 1842–46), iii, pp. 365 *et seq.*; Walpole, *Memoirs of George III*, iii, pp. 43 *et seq.*

[33] *Ibid*, p. 77; *Chatham Correspondence*, iii, p. 294; Fitzmaurice, *Life of Lord Shelburne*, ii, p. 1; *Grenville Papers*, iii, p. 235.

On account of ill health, Chatham made no sign.[34] The negotiations ended, therefore, according to the wish of Shelburne and the Bedfords; and Lord Hillsborough was appointed secretary of state for the colonies. The policies pursued toward the West for the next few years, may be regarded as his.

Little is known as to what Hillsborough's exact attitude was, at the time of his appointment, towards the various American problems. We have already seen that he had twice held the presidency of the Board of Trade, but on neither occasion had developed any decided policy. As far as the West was concerned, he had been ready to carry out Lord Shelburne's plans. So far were his ideas unknown, that there was talk of making Benjamin Franklin his under-secretary, to assist him in building up the new department.[35] Although Franklin put no faith in the ministerial talk, he was very uncertain in regard to Hillsborough's plans and did not regard him "in general an enemy to America."[36] It is probable that the choice of Hillsborough was made because he was not pledged to violent measures toward the American colonies, as were the intimate friends of the Duke of Bedford.[37]

Lord Shelburne's letter of October 5th to the Board of Trade had forced the issue of the West upon the ministry. The object of Shelburne's plan had been so concealed in the proclamation of 1763 that few had understood it; but now its full scope was disclosed, and a careful consideration and a decision thereon was expected from the ministry.

The question of the management of the trade was financial in character and, since economy was the talk of all ministers, the recommendation to transfer the burden of this department of Indian affairs to the colonies met with no opposition. The utility of erecting colonies in the far West was, however, open to dispute, at least it so appeared to many men of that time.

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[34] These negotiations may be found in *Chatham Correspondence*, iii, p. 297, and in Fitzmaurice, *Life of Shelburne*, ii, pp. 68 *et seq.* They are not mentioned in *Memoirs of Grafton*. See also account in Walpole, *Memoirs of George III*, iii, p. 98.

[35] Smyth, *Writings of Franklin*, v, p. 90.

[36] *Ibid*, pp. 91, 143 *et seq.*

[37] At least the conversation of Grafton with Shelburne, referred to above, would give ground for such a belief.

To them such a course seemed of little commercial value to the mother country, since the new colonies would be situated so far from the sea-coast; it would be likely to arouse another Indian war, at a time that it was expected the boundary lines would satisfy the Indians; it did not appear necessary, so long as the colonies remained uncrowded; it would destroy the fur-trade, which had not proved as valuable as was anticipated in 1763; finally, the expense of such enterprises would be great.[38]

The answer of the Board of Trade to Lord Shelburne's recommendations, dated March 7, 1768,[39], was undoubtedly inspired by Lord Hillsborough. There was substantial agreement with the recommendation concerning the transference of the management of the trade to the colonies; but the lords of trade did not think it wise to abolish altogether the offices of superintendents of the Indians, since there were several functions that could best be executed by the British government—such as the purchase of land, the making of treaties, and general oversight over the interests of the Indians. It was, therefore, determined to continue these offices.

The Board of Trade did not misunderstand the significance of Shelburne's policy concerning colonies in the far West. They wrote:

> The Proposition of forming inland Colonies in America is, we humbly conceive, entirely new; it adopts principles in respect to American Settlement different from what has hitherto been the policy of this Kingdom; and leads to a system which if pursued through all its consequences, is in the present state of this Country of the greatest importance.

The scope of this new policy was revealed to them by the arguments advanced "by the authors of the proposals themselves," to be nothing less than "the entire possession and peopling of all the Country which has Communication with the

[38] See the various arguments in the Board of Trade Report, March 7, 1768, in *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, viii, p. 27, and the opinions of General Gage in *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, ii, pp. 835 *et seq.;* also Gage to Shelburne, "Board of Trade Papers," Pa. Hist. Society, Jan. 17 and Feb. 22, 1767. The last objection appealed strongly to Hillsborough—see letter to Gage, April 10, 1768, *Mil. Cor., Series Amer. and West Indies*, vol. 124, Public Record Office.

[39] Printed in *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vii, p. 19.

Rivers Mississippi and St. Lawrence." This was the issue before the Board of Trade and the new secretary of the colonies. After setting forth the reasons, which have already been indicated, the report opposed the recommendation of Lord Shelburne, and his broad-gauged policy was rejected.

It would be a mistake to intepret this action as indicating a final purpose on the part of the ministry to maintain a large Indian reservation in the heart of America. Two years later, Lord Hillsborough was still in doubt in regard to the final disposition of this vast West. In a most illuminating letter to General Gage, in which the secretary exposes his most secret thoughts, he writes:[40]

> The commerical advantages which may be derived from these possessions and the near relation they bear to the safety and security of His Majesty's North American Dominions in general under them are an object deserving the most serious attention but the great difficulty lies in suggesting a proper plan for the improvement of them to these ends that will not either be attended with an Expense too heavy for the State to bear, or otherwise liable to very great objections.

After stating the arguments for and against posts and colonies west of the Indian boundary line, he sums up his own state of mind in these words:

> In the meantime from what I have said you will see, that though I am fully aware of the propriety of some possession on the Mississippi that should have the effect to secure the Commerce and mark the Dominion of the Country which belongs to his Majesty on the East side of it; yet nevertheless the only two methods of obtaining this object are each of them accompanied with such objections as leave my judgement in a state of perplexity I am not able to get over.

In closing it is necessary to call attention to the difficulties confronting the ministry over the disposal of the land on the south of the Ohio and outside of Pennsylvania, that had been opened up for colonization by the establishment of the Indian boundary line. According to the opinion of the Board of Trade, this belonged to Virginia by her charter rights; and already surveys had been made there for the Vir-

[40] *Amer. and West Indies*, vol. 114, July 31, 1770, Public Record Office.

ginia soldiers of the French and Indian War.[41] There were, however, other possible means of disposing of it. The old Ohio Company began immediately to put forth its claims. The merchants, who had suffered during the Pontiac War, and had been reimbursed by a concession of land by the Indians at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, also set forth their claims. The Mississippi Company, of Virginia, having failed to obtain territory for the establishment of a colony on the Mississippi, applied for territory in this region. The Philadelphia merchants associated with Benjamin Franklin, Governor Franklin, and Sir William Johnson, immediately formed a new company, known by the name of the Walpole Company, and desired permission to establish a colony there also.[42]

Here were, indeed, a plenty of claimants. But among them all, Lord Hillsborough and his colleagues favored the Philadelphians and gave them every encouragement. Several reasons for the establishment of a new colony in this corner of the West appealed to the ministry. It would promote law and order among the disorderly crowd of the frontier; it would prevent encroachments on the Indian lands; it would settle once for all the question of the western boundaries of the seaboard colonies. Therefore the ministry, under the influence

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[41] In the *Report* of the Board of Trade of March 7, 1767, occurs the following: "Your Majesty will be pleased to observe that altho on the one hand the Settlements in the new established Colonies to the South are confined to very narrow limits; yet on the other hand the middle Colonies (whose state of population requires a greater extent) have room to spread much beyond what they have hitherto been allowed and that upon the whole one uniform and complete line will be formed between the Indians and those antient Colonies, whose limits not being confined to the Westward has occasioned that extensive settlement" etc. An examination of the correspondence of the period has led one to believe that it was not generally thought at this time that the Indian boundary line marked the western limits of the colonies.

[42] For these various schemes see Alden, *New Governments*. A discussion of some of the rights of the rival claimants may be found in *Plain Facts* (Philadelphia, 1781), a pamphlet issued by Samuel Wharton in 1781.

of Hillsborough, were ready to promote such an establishment.[43]

In the next few years, the disposal of this land on the upper Ohio became one of the paramount issues in the Western policy of the ministry. Conditions then arose that made Hillsborough change his mind; and he wrote his famous report opposing all colonies west of the Alleghanies, which has misled so many into believing that he and all ministries of which he was a member were at all times opposed to westward expansion.[44] But this whole question must be postponed for discussion in another paper on the Western policy of the British Ministry that led to the Quebec Act.

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[43] The discussion of this point lies outside the subject of this paper; but a study of the correspondence of the period has led me to the belief that Arthur Lee was correct in his interpretation of the ministerial policy, when he wrote: "Lord Hillsborough was then lord of trade. Frequent conversations with him convinced me that the ministry were fixed in prosecuting their American plan, and were determined to make such alterations in the colonial governments, as should accommodate them to the new system of parliamentary power. A government west of the Alleghany mountains was to be constituted on this new ministerial model, under the name of Vandalia."—Lee, *Life of Arthur Lee* (Boston, 1829), i, p. 246. See also Alden, *New Governments*, p. 44. It is possible that the ministry in adopting this policy had in mind Shelburne's arguments for his Western policy, particularly the financial one wherein he pointed out the means of raising a revenue from land grants. The treasury board began at this time to take charge of the sale of lands, and the most potent reason for making the large grant to the Walpole Company was the promise of a monetary return—see *Considerations on the Agreement of the Lords Commissioners * * * with the Hon. Thomas Walpole* (London, 1774).

[44] Franklin, *Settlements on the River Ohio* (London, 1772).

The Old West

By Frederick Jackson Turner

It is not the oldest West with which this paper deals. The oldest West was the Atlantic coast.[1] Roughly speaking, it took a century of Indian fighting and forest felling for the colonial settlements to expand into the interior to a distance of about a hundred miles from the coast. Indeed, some stretches were hardly touched in that period. This conquest of the nearest wilderness in the course of the seventeenth century and in the early years of the eighteenth, gave control of the maritime section of the nation and made way for the new movement of westward expansion which I propose to discuss.

In his *Winning of the West,* Roosevelt dealt chiefly with the region beyond the Alleghanies, and with the period of the later eighteenth century, although he prefaced his account with an excellent chapter describing the backwoodsmen of the Alleghanies and their social conditions from 1769 to 1774. It is important to notice, however, that he is concerned with a backwoods society already formed; that he ignores the New England frontier and its part in the winning of the West, and does not recognize that there was a West to be won between New England and the Great Lakes. In short, he is interested in the winning of the West beyond the Alleghanies by the southern half of the frontier folk.

[1] I have indicated the relations between the West and the frontier, and the significance of the West as a moving region, in "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1893, pp. 79–112; Amer. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1893, p. 199; *International Socialist Review*, vi, 321; Bullock, *Select Readings in Economics* (Boston [1907]); also compare *Atlantic Monthly*, lxxviii, p. 289.

There is, then, a western area intermediate between the coastal colonial settlements of the seventeenth century and the trans-Alleghany settlements of the latter portion of the eighteenth century. This section I propose to isolate and discuss under the name of the Old West, and in the period from about 1676 to 1763. It includes the back country of New England, the Mohawk Valley, the Great Valley of Pennsylvania, the Shenandoah Valley, and the Piedmont—that is, the interior or upland portion of the South, lying between the Alleghanies and the head of navigation of the Atlantic rivers marked by the "fall line."[2]

In this region, and in these years, are to be found the beginnings of much that is characteristic in Western society, for the Atlantic coast was in such close touch with Europe that its frontier experience was soon counteracted, and it developed along other lines. It is unfortunate that the colonial back country appealed so long to historians solely in connection with the colonial wars, for the development of its society, its institutions and mental attitude all need study. Its history has been dealt with in separate fragments, by states, or towns, or in discussions of special phases, such as German and Scotch Irish immigration. The Old West as a whole can only be understood by obliterating the state boundaries which conceal its unity, by correlating the special and fragmentary studies, and by filling

[2] For the settled area in 1660, see the map by Lois Mathews in Channing, *United States* (N. Y., 1905), i, p. 510; and by Albert Cook Myers in Avery, *United States* (Cleveland, 1905), ii, following p. 398. In Channing, ii, following p. 603, is Marion F. Lansing's map of settlement in 1760, which is on a rather conservative basis, especially the part showing the interior of the Carolinas.

Contemporaneous maps of the middle of the eighteenth century, useful in studying the progress of settlement, are: Mitchell, *Map of the British Colonies* (1755); Evans, *Middle British Colonies* (1758); Jefferson and Frye, *Map of Virginia* (1751 and 1755).

On the geographical conditions, see maps and text in Powell, *Physiographic Regions* (N. Y., 1896), and Willis, "Northern Appalachians," in *Physiography of the United States* (N. Y., 1896), pp. 73–82, 169–176, 196–201.

For the line of the falls of the rivers, see map published in illustration of Professor Alvord's paper, "The British Ministry and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix," *ante*, p. 176.

the gaps in the material for understanding the formation of its society. The present paper is rather a reconnoissance than a conquest of the field, a programme for study of the Old West rather than an exposition of it.

The Period

The end of the period proposed may be placed about 1763, and the beginning between 1676 and 1700. The termination of the period is marked by the Peace of Paris in 1763, and the royal proclamation of that year forbidding settlement beyond the Alleghanies. By this time the settlement of the Old West was fairly accomplished, and new advances were soon made into the "Western waters" beyond the mountains and into the interior of Vermont and New Hampshire. The isolation of the transmontane settlements, and the special conditions and doctrines of the Revolutionary era during which they were formed, make a natural distinction between the period of which I am to speak and the later extension of the West.

The beginning of my period is necessarily an indeterminate date, owing to the different times of colonizing the coastal areas which served as bases of operations in the westward advance. The most active movements into the Old West occurred after 1730. But in 1676 New England, having closed the exhausting struggle with the Indians, known as King Philip's War, could regard her established settlements as secure, and go on to complete her possession of the interior. This she did in the midst of conflicts with the exterior Indian tribes which invaded her frontiers from New York and Canada during the French and Indian wars from 1690 to 1760, and under frontier conditions different from the conditions of the earlier Puritan colonization. In 1676, Virginia was passing through Indian fighting—keenest along the fall line, where the frontier lay—and also experiencing a social revolt which resulted in the defeat of the democratic forces that sought to stay the progress of aristocratic control in the colony.[3] The date marks the end of the period when the Virginia tidewater could itself be regarded as a frontier region, and consequently the beginning of a more special interest in the interior.

[3] See Osgood, *American Colonies* (N. Y., 1907), iii, chap. iii.

The Settlement of the New England Interior

Let us first examine the northern part of the movement into the back country. The expansion of New England into the vacant spaces of its own section, in the period we have chosen for discussion, resulted in the formation of an interior society which contrasted in many ways with that of the coast, and which has a special significance in Western history, in that it was this interior New England people who settled the Greater New England in central and western New York, the Wyoming Valley, the Connecticut Reserve of Ohio, and much of the prairie areas of the Old Northwest. Wisconsin especially should be interested in the region, for here was the source of the important stream of Yankee influence which contributed very largely to our own State, and helped mould its society and ideals in its early years. It is important to realize that the Old West included interior New England.

The situation in New England at the close of the seventeenth century is indicated by the Massachusetts act of 1694 enumerating eleven towns, then on the frontier and exposed to raids, none of which might be voluntarily deserted without leave of the governor and council, on penalty of loss of their freeholds by the landowners, or fine of other inhabitants. The towns were mostly in what is now the eastern part of New England; among them were Amesbury, Haverhill, Dunstable, Chelmsford, Groton, Lancaster, Marlboro, and Deerfield. A similar act in 1700 added Brookfield, Mendon, and Woodstock, with an inner frontier through Salisbury, Andover, Billerica, Hatfield, Hadley, Westfield, and Northampton.[4]

Thus these frontier settlers were made substantially garrisons, or "mark colonies." Crowded into the palisades of the town, and obliged in spite of their poverty to bear the brunt of Indian attack, their hardships are illustrated in the manly but pathetic letters of Deerfield's minister, Mr. Williams,[5] in 1704.

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[4] *Massachusetts Records* (Boston, 1853), I, p. 194; Winsor, *Narrative and Critical Hist. of America* (Boston and N. Y., 1887), V, p. 184.

[5] Sheldon, *Deerfield* (Deerfield, Mass., 1895), I, p. 288.

Parkman succinctly describes the general conditions in these words:[6]

> The exposed frontier of New England was between two and three hundred miles long, and consisted of farms and hamlets loosely scattered through an almost impervious forest. * * * Even in so-called villages the houses were far apart, because, except on the seashore, the people lived by farming. Such as were able to do so fenced their dwellings with palisades, or built them of solid timber, with loopholes, a projecting upper story like a block house, and sometimes a flanker at one or more of the corners. In the more considerable settlements the largest of these fortified houses was occupied in time of danger by armed men and served as a place of refuge for the neighbors.

Into these places, in days of alarm, were crowded the outlying settlers, just as was the case in later times in the Kentucky "stations." In 1704 the assembly of New Hampshire ordered that every householder should provide himself with snow-shoes for the use of winter scouting parties.

In spite of such frontier conditions, the outlying towns continued to multiply. Between 1720 and the middle of the century, settlement crept up the Housatonic and its lateral valley into the Berkshires. About 1720 Litchfield was established; in 1725, Sheffield; in 1730, Great Barrington; and in 1735 a road was cut and towns soon established between Westfield and these Housatonic settlements, thus uniting them with the older extensions along the Connecticut and its tributaries.

In this period, scattered and sometimes unwelcome Scotch-Irish settlements were established, such as that at Londonderry, New Hampshire, and in the Berkshires, as well as in the region won in King Philip's War from the Nipmucks, whither there came also Huguenots.[7]

In King George's War, the Connecticut River settlers found their frontier protection in such rude stockades as those at the sites of Keene, of Charlestown, New Hampshire (Number Four), Fort Shirley at the head of Deerfield River (Heath), and Fort Pelham (Rowe); while Fort Massachusetts (Adams) guarded

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[6] Parkman, *Frontenac* (Boston, 1898), p. 390; compare his description of Deerfield in 1704, in *Half Century of Conflict* (Boston, 1898), i, p. 55.

[7] Hanna, *Scotch Irish* (N. Y. and London, 1902), ii, pp. 17–24.

the Hoosac gateway to the Hoosatonic Valley. These frontier garrisons and the self-defense of the backwoodsmen of New England are well portrayed in the pages of Parkman.[8] At the close of the war, settlement again expanded into the Berkshires, where Lennox, West Hoosac (Williamstown), and Pittsfield were established in the middle of the century. Checked by the fighting in the last French and Indian War, the frontier went forward after the Peace of Paris (1763) at an exceptional rate, especially into Vermont and interior New Hampshire. An anonymous writer gives a contemporary view of the situation on the eve of the Revolution:[9]

> The richest parts remaining to be granted are on the northern branches of the Connecticut river, towards Crown Point where are great districts of fertile soil still unsettled. The North part of New Hampshire, the province of Maine, and the territory of Sagadahock have but few settlements in them compared with the tracts yet unsettled. * * *
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> I should further observe that these tracts have since the peace [i. e., 1763], been settling pretty fast: farms on the river Connecticut are every day extending beyond the old fort Dummer, for near thirty miles; and will in a few years reach to Kohasser which is nearly two hundred miles; not that such an extent will be one-tenth settled, but the new-comers do not fix near their neighbors, and go on regularly, but take spots that please them best, though twenty or thirty miles beyond any others. This to people of a sociable disposition in Europe would appear very strange, but the Americans do not regard the near neighborhood of other farmers; twenty or thirty miles by water they esteem no distance in matters of this sort; besides in a country that promises well the intermediate space is not long in filling up. Between Connecticut river and Lake Champlain upon Otter Creek, and all along Lake Sacrament [George] and the rivers that fall into it, and the whole length of Wood Creek, are numerous settlements made since the peace.[10]

For nearly a hundred years, therefore, New England communities had been pushed out to new frontiers in the intervals between the almost continuous wars with the French and In-

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[8] *Half Century of Conflict*, ii, pp. 214–234.

[9] *American Husbandry* (London, 1775), i, p. 47.

[10] For the extent of New England settlements in 1760, compared with 1700, see the map in Channing, *United States*, ii, at end of volume.

dians. Probably the most distinctive feature in this frontier was the importance of the community type of settlement; in other words, of the towns, with their Puritan ideals in education, morals, and religion. This has always been a matter of pride to the statesmen and annalists of New England, as is illustrated by these words of Holland in his *Western Massachusetts,*[11] commenting on the settlement of the Connecticut Valley in villages, whereby in his judgment morality, education, and urbanity were preserved:

> The influence of this policy can only be fully appreciated when standing by the side of the solitary settler's hut in the West, where even an Eastern man has degenerated to a boor in manners, where his children have grown up uneducated, and where the Sabbath has become an unknown day, and religion and its obligations have ceased to exercise control upon the heart and life.

Whatever may be the real value of the community type of settlement, its establishment in New England was intimately connected both with the Congregational religious organization and with the land system of the colonies of that section, under which the colonial governments made grants—not in tracts to individuals, but in townships to groups of proprietors intending to settle, who in turn assigned lands to the inhabitants without cost. The typical form of establishing a town was as follows: On application of an approved body of men, desiring to establish a new settlement, the colonial general court would appoint a committee to view the desired land and report on its fitness; an order for the grant would then issue, in varying areas, not far from the equivalent of six miles square. In the eighteenth century especially, it was common to reserve certain lots of the town for the support of schools and the ministry. This was the origin of that very important feature of Western society, federal land grants for schools and colleges.[12] The general courts also made regulations regarding the common lands, the terms for admitting inhabitants, etc., and thus kept a firm hand upon the social structure of the new settlements as they formed on the frontier.

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[11] Vol. i, p. 62.

[12] Schafer, "Land Grants for Education," Univ. of Wis. *Bulletin* (Madison, 1902), chap. iv.

This practice, seen in its purity in the seventeenth century especially, was markedly different from the practices of other colonies in the settlement of their back lands. For during most of the period New England did not use her wild lands, or public domain, as a source of revenue by sale to individuals or to companies, with the reservation of quit-rents; nor attract individual settlers by "head rights," or fifty-acre grants, after the Virginia type; nor did the colonies of the New England group often make extensive grants to individuals, on the ground of special services, or because of influence with the government, or on the theory that the grantee would introduce settlers on his grant. They donated their lands to groups of men who became town proprietors for the purpose of establishing communities. These proprietors were supposed to hold the lands in trust, to be assigned to inhabitants under restraints to ensure the persistence of Puritan ideals.

During most of the seventeenth century the proprietors awarded lands to the new-comers in accordance with this theory. But as density of settlement increased, and lands grew scarce in the older towns, the proprietors began to assert their legal right to the unoccupied lands and to refuse to share them with inhabitants who were not of the body of proprietors. The distinction resulted in class conflicts in the towns, especially in the eighteenth century,[18] over the ownership and disposal of the common lands.

The relation of these conflicts to the settlement of the back country needs further investigation. They doubtless afford one of the reasons why men were willing to form new towns on the frontier, remote from markets and exposed to Indian raids. It is not unlikely, also, that the system of from time to time assigning unoccupied lands in the old towns unequally to the members of the community, according to their existing estate, or on some similar plan, created a desire to settle in new towns,

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[18] On New England's land system see Osgood, *American Colonies* (N. Y., 1904), i, chap. xi; and Eggleston, "Land System of the New England Colonies," Johns Hopkins Univ. *Studies* (Baltimore, 1886), iv. Compare the account of Virginia, about 1696, in *Mass. Hist. Colls.* (Boston, 1835), 1st series, v, p. 129, for a favorable view of the New England town system.

where the less-favored could find a congenial social system as well as lands to till.

In any case, the new settlements, by a process of natural selection, would afford opportunity to the least contented whether because of grievances, or ambitions, to establish themselves. This tended to produce a Western flavor in the towns on the frontier. But it was not until the original ideals of the land system began to change, that the opportunity to make new settlements for such reasons became common. As the economic and political ideal replaced the religious and social ideal, in the conditions under which new towns could be established, this became more possible.

Such a change was in progress in the latter part of the seventeenth century and during the eighteenth. In 1713, 1715, and 1727 Massachusetts determined upon a policy of locating towns in advance of settlement, to protect her boundary claims. In 1736 she laid out five towns near the New Hampshire border, and a year earlier opened four contiguous towns to connect her Housatonic and Connecticut Valley settlements.[14] Grants in non-adjacent regions were sometimes made to old towns, the proprietors of which sold them to those who wished to move.

The history of the town of Litchfield illustrates the increasing importance of the economic factor. At a time when Connecticut feared that Andros might dispose of the public lands to the disadvantage of the colony, the legislature granted a large part of western Connecticut to the towns of Hartford and Windsor, *pro forma*, as a means of withdrawing the lands from his hands. But these towns refused to give the lands up after the danger had passed, and proceeded to sell part of them.[15] Riots occurred when the colonial authorities attempted to assert possession, and the matter was at length compromised in 1719 by allowing Litchfield to be settled in accordance with the town grants, while the colony reserved the larger part of northwestern Connecticut. In 1737 the colony disposed of its last

[14] Amelia C. Ford, *Colonial Precedents of our National Land System*, MS. doctor's thesis (1908), Univ. of Wis., citing Massachusetts Bay, House of Rep. *Journal*, 1715, pp. 5, 22, 46; Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts Bay* (London, 1768), ii, p. 331; Holland, *Western Massachusetts* (Springfield, 1855), pp. 166, 169.

[15] *Conn. Colon. Records* (Hartford, 1874), viii, p. 134.

unlocated lands by sale in lots. In 1762 Massachusetts sold a group of entire townships in the Berkshires to the highest bidders.[16]

But the most striking illustration of the tendency, is afforded by the "New Hampshire grants" of Governor Wentworth, who, chiefly in the years about 1760, made grants of a hundred and thirty towns west of the Connecticut, in what is now the state of Vermont, but which was then in dispute between New Hampshire and New York. These grants, while in form much like other town grants, were disposed of for cash, chiefly to speculators who hastened to sell their rights to the throngs of land-seekers who, after the peace, began to pour into the Green Mountain region.

It is needless to point out how this would affect the movement of Western settlement in respect to individualistic speculation in public lands; how it would open a career to the land jobbers, as well as to the natural leaders in the competitive movement for acquiring the best lands, for laying out town sites and building up new communities under "boom" conditions. The migratory tendency of New Englanders was increased by this gradual change in its land policy; the attachment to a locality was diminished. The later years showed increasing emphasis by New England upon individual success, greater respect for the self-made man who, in the midst of opportunities under competitive conditions, achieved superiority. The old dominance of town sentiment, village moral police, and traditional class control gave way slowly. Settlement in communities and rooted Puritan habits and ideals had enduring influences in the regions settled by New Englanders; but it was in this

[16] Holland, *Western Massachusetts*, p. 197. See the comments of Hutchinson in his *History of Massachusetts Bay*, ii, pp. 331, 332. Compare the steps of Connecticut men in 1753 and 1755 to secure a land grant in Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, for the Susquehanna Company, and the Connecticut governor's remark that there was no unappropriated land in the latter colony—*Pa. Colon. Records* (Harrisburg, 1851), v, p. 771; *Pa. Archives*, 2d series, xviii, contains the important documents, with much valuable information on the land system of the Wyoming Valley region. See also General Lyman's projects for a Mississippi colony in the Yazoo delta area—all indicative of the pressure for land and the speculative spirit.

Old West, in the years just before the Revolution, that individualism began to play an important rôle, along with the traditional habit of expanding in organized communities.

The opening of the Vermont towns revealed more fully than before, the capability of New Englanders to become democratic pioneers, under characteristic frontier conditions. Their economic life was simple and self-sufficing. They readily adopted lynch law (the use of the "birch seal" is familiar to readers of Vermont history) to protect their land titles in the troubled times when these "Green Mountain boys" resisted New York's assertion of authority. They later became an independent Revolutionary state with frontier directness, and in very many respects their history in the Revolutionary epoch is similar to that of settlers in Kentucky and Tennessee, both in assertion of the right to independent self government and in a frontier separatism.[17] Vermont may be regarded as the culmination of the frontier movement which I have been describing in New England. By this time two distinct New Englands existed—the one coastal, and dominated by commercial interests and the established congregational churches; the other a primitive agricultural area, democratic in principle, and with various sects increasingly indifferent to the fear of "innovation" which the dominant classes of the old communities felt. Already speculative land companies had begun New England settlements in the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania, as well as on the lower Mississippi; and New England missions among the Indians, such as that at Stockbridge, were beginning the noteworthy religious and educational expansion of the section to the west.

That this movement of expansion had been chiefly from south to north, along the river valleys, should not conceal from us the fact that it was in essential characteristics a Western movement, especially in the social traits that were developing. Even the men who lived in the long line of settlements on the Maine coast, under frontier conditions, and remote from the older centres of New England, developed traits and a democratic

[17] Compare Vermont's dealings with the British, and the negotiations of Kentucky and Tennessee leaders with Spaniards and British. See *Amer. Hist. Review*, i, p. 252, note 2, for references on Vermont's Revolutionary philosophy and influence.

spirit that relate them closely to the Westerners, in spite of the fact that Maine is "down east" by pre-eminence.[18]

The Back Country of the Middle Region

The frontier of the middle region in this period of the formation of the Old West, was divided into two parts, which happen to coincide with the colonies of New York and Pennsylvania. In the latter colony the trend of settlement was into the Great Valley, and so on to the southern uplands; while the advance of settlement in New York was like that of New England, chiefly northward, following the line of Hudson River.

The Hudson and the Mohawk constituted the area of the Old West in this part of the eighteenth century. With them were associated the Wallkill, tributary to the Hudson, and Cherry Valley near the Mohawk, along the sources of the Susquehanna. The Berkshires walled the Hudson in to the east; the Adirondacks and the Catskills to the west. Where the Mohawk Valley penetrated between the mountainous areas, the Iroquois Indians were too formidable for advance on such a slender line. Nothing but dense settlement along the narrow strip of the Hudson, if even that, could have furnished the necessary momentum for overcoming the Indian barrier; and this pressure was lacking, for the population was comparatively sparse in contrast with the task to be performed. What most needs discussion in the case of New York, therefore, is not the history of expansion as in other sections, but the absence of expansive power.

The fur-trade had led the way up the Hudson, and made beginnings of settlements at strategic points near the confluence of the Mohawk. But the fur-trader was not followed by a tide of pioneers. One of the most important factors in restraining density of population in New York, in retarding the settlement of its frontier, and in determining the conditions there, was the land system of that colony.

From the time of the patroon grants along the lower Hudson, great estates had been the common form of land tenure. Rensselaerswyck reached at one time over seven hundred thousand acres. These great patroon estates were confirmed by the

[18] See H. C. Emery, *Artemas Jean Haynes* (New Haven, 1908), pp. 8–10.

English governors, who in their turn followed a similar policy. By 1732 two and one-half million acres were engrossed in manorial grants.[19] In 1764, Governor Colden wrote[20] that three of the extravagant grants contain,

> as the proprietors claim, above a million acres each, several others above 200,000. * * * Although these grants contain a great part of the province, they are made in trifling acknowledgements. The far greater part of them still remain uncultivated, without any benefit to the community, and are likewise a discouragement to the settling and improving the lands in the neighborhood of them, for from the uncertainty of their boundaries, the patentees of these great tracts are daily enlarging their pretensions, and by tedious and most expensive law suits, distress and ruin poor families who have taken out grants near them.

He adds that "the proprietors of the great tracts are not only freed from the quit-rents, which the other landholders in the province pay, but by their influence in the assembly are freed from every other public tax on their lands."

In 1769 it was estimated that at least five-sixths of the inhabitants of Westchester County lived within the bounds of the great manors there.[21] In Albany County the Livingston manor spread over seven modern townships, and the great Van Rensselaer manor stretched twenty-four by twenty-eight miles along the Hudson; while still farther, on the Mohawk, were the vast possessions of Sir William Johnson.[22]

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[19] Ballagh, in Amer. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1897, p. 110.

[20] *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vii, pp. 654, 795.

[21] Becker, in *Amer. Hist. Review*, vi, p. 261.

[22] Becker, *loc. cit.* For maps of grants in New York, see O'Callaghan, *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.* (Albany, 1850), i, pp. 421, 774; especially Southier, *Chorographical Map of New York;* Winsor, *America*, v, p. 236. In general on these grants, consult also *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, i, pp. 249–257; *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, iv, pp. 397, 791, 874, v, pp. 459, 651, 805, vi, pp. 486, 549, 743, 876, 950; Kip, *Olden Time* (N. Y., 1872), p. 12; Scharf, *History of Westchester County* (Phila., 1886), i, p. 91; Libby, *Distribution of Vote on Ratification of Constitution* (Madison, 1894), pp. 21–25.

For the region of the Wallkill, including New Paltz, etc., see Eager, *Outline History of Orange County, New York* (Newburgh, 1846–47); and Ruttenber and Clark, *History of Orange County* (Phila., 1881), pp. 11–20. On Cherry Valley and upper Susquehanna settlements, in gen-

It was not simply that the grants were extensive, but that the policy of the proprietors favored the leasing rather than the sale of the lands—frequently also of the stock, and taking payment in shares. It followed that settlers preferred to go to frontiers where a more liberal land policy prevailed. At one time it seemed possible that the tide of German settlement, which finally sought Pennsylvania and the up-country of the South, might flow into New York. In 1710, Governor Hunter purchased a tract in Livingston's manor and located nearly fifteen hundred Palatines on it to produce naval stores.[23] But the attempt soon failed; the Germans applied to the Indians on Schoharie Creek, a branch of the Mohawk, for a grant of land and migrated there, only to find that the governor had already granted the land. Again were the villages broken up, some remaining and some moving farther up the Mohawk, where they and accessions to their number established the frontier settlements about Palatine Bridge, in the region where, in the Revolution, Herkimer led these German frontiersmen to stem the British attack in the battle of Oriskany. They constituted the most effective military defense of Mohawk Valley. Still another portion took their way across to the waters of the Susquehanna, and at Tulpehockon Creek began an important centre of German settlement in the Great Valley of Pennsylvania.[24]

The most important aspect of the history of the movement into the frontier of New York at this period, therefore, was the evidence which it afforded that in the competition for settlement between colonies possessing a vast area of vacant land, those which imposed feudal tenures and undemocratic restraints, and which exploited settlers, were certain to lose.

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eral, in New York, see Halsey, *Old New York Frontier*, pp. 5, 119, and the maps by De Witt and Southier in O'Callaghan, *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, i, pp. 421, 774.

Note the French Huguenots and Scotch-Irish in Orange County, and the Scotch-Irish settlers of Cherry Valley and their relation to Londonderry, N. H., as well as the missionary visits from Stockbridge, Mass., to the upper Susquehanna.

[23] Lord, *Industrial Experiments* (Baltimore, 1898), p. 45; Diffenderfer, *German Exodus* (Lancaster, Pa., 1897).

[24] See *post.*

The manorial practice gave a bad name to New York as a region for settlement, which not even the actual opportunities in certain parts of the colony could counteract. The diplomacy of New York governors during this period of the Old West, in securing a protectorate over the Six Nations and a consequent claim to their territory, and in holding them aloof from France, constituted the most effective contribution of that colony to the movement of American expansion. When lands of these tribes were obtained after Sullivan's expedition in the Revolution (in which New England soldiers played a prominent part), it was by the New England inundation into this interior that they were colonized. And it was under conditions like those prevailing in the later years of the expansion of settlements in New England itself, that this settlement of interior and western New York was effected. The result was, that New York became divided into two distinct peoples: the dwellers along Hudson Valley, and the Yankee pioneers of the interior. But the settlement of central and western New York, like the settlement of Vermont, is a story that belongs with the era in which the trans-Alleghany West was occupied.

We can best consider the settlement of the share of the Old West which is located in Pennsylvania as a part of the migration which occupied the southern uplands, and before entering upon this it will be advantageous to survey that part of the movement toward the interior which proceeded westward from the coast. First let us observe the conditions at the eastern edge of these uplands, along the fall line in Virginia, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, in order that the process and the significance of the movement may be better understood.

Expansion Westward from the Southern Tidewater: Virginia

About the time of Bacon's Rebellion, in Virginia, strenuous efforts were made to protect the frontier line which ran along the falls of the rivers, against the attacks of Indians. This "fall line," as the geographers call it, marking the head of navigation, and thus the boundary of the maritime or lowland South, runs from the site of Washington, through Richmond, and on to Raleigh, North Carolina, and Columbia, South Caro-

lina. Virginia having earliest advanced thus far to the interior, found it necessary in the closing years of the seventeenth century to draw a military frontier along this line. As early as 1675 a statute was enacted,[25] providing that paid troops of five hundred men should be drawn from the midland and most secure parts of the country and placed on the "heads of the rivers" and other places fronting upon the Indians. What was meant by the "heads of the rivers," is shown by the fact that several of these forts were located either at the falls of the rivers or just above tidewater, as follows: one on the lower Potomac in Stafford County; one near the falls of the Rappahannock; one on the Mattapony; one on the Pamunky; one on the falls of the James (near the site of Richmond); one near the falls of Appomattox, and others on Blackwater, Nansemond, and the Accomac peninsula, all in the eastern parts of Virginia.

Again, in 1679, similar provision was made, [26] and an especially interesting act was passed, making *quasi* manorial grants to Major Lawrence Smith and Captain William Byrd, "to seate certain lands at the head [falls] of Rappahannock and James river" respectively. This scheme failed for lack of approval by the authorities in England.[27] But Byrd at the falls of the James near the present site of Richmond, Robert Beverley on the Rappahannock, and other frontier commanders on the York and Potomac, continued to undertake colonial defense. The system of mounted rangers was established in 1691, by which a lieutenant, eleven soldiers, and two Indians at the "heads" or falls of each great river were to scout for enemy,[28] and the Indian boundary line was strictly defined.

By the opening years of the eighteenth century (1701), the assembly of Virginia had reached the conclusion that settlement

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[25] Hening, *Va. Statutes at Large* (N. Y., 1823), ii, p. 326.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 433.

[27] Bassett, *Writings of William Byrd* (N. Y., 1901), p. xxi.

[28] Hening, iii, p. 82. Similar acts were passed almost annually in successive years of the seventeenth century; cf. *loc. cit.*, pp. 98, 115, 119, 126, 164; the system was discontinued in 1722—see Beverley, *Virginia and its Government* (London, 1722), p. 234.

It is interesting to compare the recommendation of Governor Dodge for Wisconsin Territory in 1836—see Wis. Terr. House of Reps. *Journal*, 1836, pp. 11 *et seq.*

would be the best means of protecting the frontiers, and that the best way of "settling in cohabitations upon the said land frontiers within this government will be by encouragements to induce societies of men to undertake the same."[29] It was declared to be inexpedient to have less than twenty fighting men in each "society," and provision was made for a land grant to be given to these societies (or towns) not less than 10,000 nor more than 30,000 acres upon any of the frontiers, to be held in common by the society. The power of ordering and managing these lands, and the settling and planting of them, was to remain in the society. Virginia was to pay the cost of survey, also quit-rents for the first twenty years for the two-hundred-acre tract as the site of the "cohabitation." Within this two hundred acres each member was to have a half-acre lot for living upon, and a right to two hundred acres next adjacent, until the thirty thousand acres were taken up. The members of the society were exempt from taxes for twenty years, and from the requirements of military duty except such as they imposed upon themselves.

"Provided alwayes," ran the quaint statutes, "and it is the true intent and meaning of this act that for every five hundred acres of land to be granted in pursuance of this act there shall be and shall be continually kept upon the said land one christian man between sixteen and sixty years of age perfect of limb, able and fitt for service who shall alsoe be continually provided with a well fixed musquett or fuzee, a good pistoll, sharp simeter, tomahawk and five pounds of good clean pistoll powder and twenty pounds of sizable leaden bulletts or swan or goose shott to be kept within the fort directed by this act besides the powder and shott for his necessary or useful shooting at game. Provided also that the said warlike christian man shall have his dwelling and continual abode within the space of two hundred acres of land to be laid out in a geometricall square or as near that figure as conveniency will admit," etc. Within two years the society was required to cause a half acre in the middle of the "cohabitation" to be palisaded "with good sound pallisadoes at least thirteen foot long and six inches diameter in

[29] Hening, iii, pp. 204–209.

the middle of the length thereof, and set double and at least three foot within the ground."

Such in 1701 was the idea of the Virginia tidewater assembly of a frontiersman, and of the frontier towns by which the Old Dominion should spread her population into the upland South. But the "warlike christian man" who actually came to furnish the firing line for Virginia, was destined to be the Scotch-Irishman and the German with long rifle in place of "fuzee" and "simeter," and altogether too restless to have his continual abode within the space of two hundred acres. Nevertheless there are points of resemblance between this idea of societies settled about a fortified town and the later "stations" of Kentucky.[30]

By the beginning of the eighteenth century the engrossing of the lands of lowland Virginia had progressed so far, the practice of holding large tracts of wasteland for reserves in the great plantations had become so common, that the authorities of Virginia reported to the home government that the best lands were all taken up,[31] and settlers were passing into North Carolina seeking cheap lands near navigable rivers. Attention was directed also to the Piedmont portions of Virginia, for by this time the Indians were conquered in this region. It was now possible to acquire land by purchase[32] at five shillings sterling for fifty acres, as well as by head-rights for importation or settlement, and land speculation soon turned to the new area.

Already the Piedmont had been somewhat explored.[33] Even

[30] Compare the law of 1779 in *Va. Revised Code* (1819), ii, p. 357; Ranck's *Boonesborough* (Louisville, 1901).

[31] Bassett, *Writings of Byrd*, p. xii; *Calendar of British State Papers, Am. and W. I.*, 1677–80 (London, 1896), p. 168.

[32] Bassett, *loc. cit.*, p. x, and Hening, iii, p. 304 (1705).

[33] For example, the expeditions of Abraham Wood to the Ohio by way of the Great Kanawha, in 1654, and the later expeditions of Lederer, Batt, and Lawson. Compare *Va. Mag.* (Richmond, 1895), ii, p. 51; Hening, i, pp. 357, 376, 581; *Cal. British State Papers, Colonial Am. and W. I.*, 1669–74 (London, 1889), p. 270, no. 647; Edward Bland, *Discovery of New Brittaine* (London, 1651; and reprinted by Sabin, N. Y., 1873); this deals with discoveries by Bland. Captain Abraham Wood, and others, one hundred and twenty miles southwest from the falls of the Appomattox; Beverley, *Virginia* (London, 1722) p. 62 (Batt); Lederer, *Discoveries* (Cincinnati, 1879).

by the middle of the seventeenth century, fur-traders had followed the trail southwest from the James more than four hundred miles to the Catawbas and later to the Cherokees. Col. William Byrd had, as we have seen, not only been absorbing good lands in the lowlands, and defending his post at the falls of the James, like a count of the border, but he also engaged in this fur-trade and sent his pack trains along this trail through the Piedmont of the Carolinas,[34] and took note of the rich savannas of that region. Charleston traders engaged in rivalry for this trade.

It was not long before cattle raisers from the older settlements, learning from the traders of the fertile plains and peavine pastures of this land, followed the fur-traders and erected scattered "cow-pens" or ranches beyond the line of plantations in the Piedmont. Even at the close of the seventeenth century, herds of wild horses and cattle ranged at the outskirts of the Virginia settlements, and were hunted by the planters, driven into pens, and branded somewhat after the manner of the later ranching on the Great Plains.[35] Now the cow-drivers and the cow-pens[36] began to enter the uplands. The Indians had by this time been reduced to submission in most of the Virginia Piedmont—as Governor Spotswood[37] reported in 1712, living "quietly on our frontiers, trafficking with the Inhabitants."

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[34] Bassett, *Writings of Byrd*, pp. xvii, xviii, quotes Byrd's description of the trail; Logan, *Upper South Carolina* (Columbia, 1859), i, p. 167; Adair describes the trade somewhat later; cf. Bartram, *Travels* (London, 1792), passim, and Monette, *Mississippi Valley* (N. Y., 1846), ii, p. 13.

[35] Bruce, *Economic Hist. of Va.* (N. Y., 1896), i, pp. 473, 475, 477.

[36] See descriptions of cow-pens in Logan, *History of Upper S. C.*, i, p. 151; Bartram, *Travels*, p. 308. On cattle raising generally in the Piedmont, see: Gregg, *Old Cheraws* (N. Y., 1867), pp. 68, 108–110; Salley, *Orangeburg* (Orangeburg, 1898), pp. 219–221; Lawson, *New Voyage to Carolina* (Raleigh, 1860), p. 135; Ramsay, *South Carolina* (Charleston, 1809), i, p. 207; J. F. D. Smyth, *Tour* (London, 1784), i, p. 143, ii, pp. 78, 97; Foote, *Sketches of N. C.* (N. Y., 1846), p. 77; *N. C. Colon. Records* (Raleigh, 1887), v, pp. xli, 1193, 1223; *American Husbandry* (London, 1775), i, pp. 336, 350, 384; Hening, v, pp. 176, 245.

[37] Spotswood, *Letters* (Richmond, 1882), i, p. 167; compare *Va. Magazine*, iii, pp. 120, 189.

After the defeat of the Tuscaroras and Yemassees about this time in the Carolinas, similar opportunities for expansion existed there. The cattle drovers sometimes took their flocks from range to range; sometimes they were gathered permanently near the pens, finding the range sufficient throughout the year. They were driven to Charleston, or later sometimes even to Philadelphia and Baltimore markets. By the middle of the century, distemper worked havoc with them in South Carolina[38] and destroyed seven-eighths of those in North Carolina; Virginia made regulations governing the driving of cattle through her frontier counties to avoid the disease, just as in our own time the northern cattlemen attempted to protect their herds against the Texas fever.

Thus cattle raisers from the the coast followed the fur-traders toward the uplands, and already pioneer farmers were straggling into the same region, soon to be outnumbered by the tide of settlement that flowed into the region from Pennsylvania.

The descriptions of the uplands by contemporaneous writers are in glowing terms. Makemie, in his *Plain and Friendly Persuasion* (1705), declared: "The best, richest and most healthy part of your Country is yet to be inhabited, above the falls of every River, to the Mountains." Jones, in his *Present State of Virginia* (1724), comments on the convenience of tidewater transportation, etc., but declares that section "not nearly so healthy as the uplands and Barrens which serve for Ranges for Stock," although he speaks less enthusiastically of the savannas and marshes which lay in the midst of the forest areas. In fact, the Piedmont was by no means the unbroken forest that might have been imagined, for in addition to natural meadows, the Indians had burned over large tracts.[39] It was a rare combination of woodland and pasture, with clear running streams and a mild climate.[40]

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[38] *N. C. Colon. Records*, v, p. xli.

[39] Lawson, *Carolina* (Raleigh, 1860), gives a description early in the eighteenth century; his map is reproduced in Avery, *United States* (Cleveland, 1907), iii, p. 224.

[40] The advantages and disadvantages of the Piedmont region of the Carolinas in the middle of the eighteenth century are illustrated in Spangenburg's diary, in *N. C. Colon. Records*, v, pp. 6, 7, 13, 14. Compare *American Husbandry*, i, pp. 220, 332, 357, 388.

The occupation of the Virginia Piedmont received a special impetus from the interest which Governor Spotswood took in the frontier. In 1710 he proposed a plan for intercepting the French in their occupation of the interior, by inducing Virginia settlement to proceed along one side of James River only, until this column of advancing pioneers should strike the attenuated line of French posts in the centre. In the same year he sent a body of horsemen to the top of the Blue Ridge, where they could overlook the Valley of Virginia.[41] By 1714 he became active as a colonizer himself. Thirty miles above the falls of the Rappahannock, on the Rapidan at Germanna,[42] he settled a little village of German redemptioners (who in return for having the passage paid agreed to serve without wages for a term of years), to engage in his iron works, also to act as rangers on the frontier. From here, in 1716, with two companies of rangers and four Indians, Governor Spotswood and a band of Virginia gentlemen made a summer picnic excursion of two weeks across the Blue Ridge into the Shenandoah Valley. *Sic juvat transcendere montes* was the motto of these Knights of the Golden Horse Shoe, as Spotswood dubbed them. But they were not the "warlike christian men" destined to occupy the frontier.

Spotswood's interest in the advance along the Rappahannock, probably accounts for the fact that in 1720 Spotsylvania and Brunswick were organized as frontier counties of Virginia.[43] Five hundred dollars were contributed by the colony to the church, and a thousand dollars for arms and ammunition for the settlers in these counties. The fears of the French and Indians beyond the high mountains, were alleged as reasons for

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[41] Spotswood, *Letters*, i, p. 40.

[42] On Germanna see Spotswood, *Letters* (index); Fontaine's journal in A. Maury, *Huguenot Family* (1853), p. 268; Jones, *Present State of Virginia* (N. Y., 1865), p. 59; Bassett, *Writings of Byrd*, p. 356; *Va. Magazine*, xiii, pp. 362, 365, vi, p. 385, xii, pp. 342, 350, xiv, p. 136.

Spotswood's interest in the Indian trade on the southern frontier of Virginia is illustrated in his fort Christanna, on which the above references afford information.

The contemporaneous account of Spotswood's expedition into Shenandoah Valley is Fontaine's journal, cited above.

[43] See the excellent paper by C. E. Kemper, in *Va. Magazine*, xii, on "Early Westward Movement in Virginia."

this advance. To attract settlers to these new counties, they were (1723) exempt from purchasing the lands under the system of head rights, and from payment of quit-rents for seven years after 1721. The free grants so obtained were not to exceed a thousand acres. This was soon extended to six thousand acres, but with provision requiring the settlement of a certain number of families upon the grant within a certain time. In 1729 Spotswood was ordered by the council to produce "rights" and pay the quit-rents for the 59,786 acres which he claimed in this county.

Other similar actions by the council show that large holdings were developing there, also that the difficulty of establishing a frontier democracy in contact with the area of expanding plantations, was very real.[44] By the time of the occupation of the Shenandoah Valley, therefore, the custom was established in this part of Virginia,[45] of making grants of a thousand acres for each family settled. Speculative planters, influential with the governor and council secured grants of many thousand acres, conditioned upon seating a certain number of families, and satisfying the requirements of planting. Thus what had originally been intended as direct grants to the actual settler, frequently became grants to great planters like Beverley, who promoted the coming of Scotch-Irish and German settlers, or took advantage of the natural drift into the valley, to sell lands in their grants, as a rule, reserving quit-rents. The liberal grants per family enabled these speculative planters, while satisfying the terms of settlement, to hold large portions of the grant for themselves. Under the lax requirements, and probably still more lax enforcement, of the provisions for actual cultivation or cattle-raising,[46] it was not difficult to hold such wild land. These conditions rendered possible the extension of a measure of aristocratic planter life in the course of time to the Piedmont and valley lands of Virginia. It must be added, however, that some of the newcomers, both Germans and Scotch-Irish, like the Van Meters, Stover, and Lewis, also showed an

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[44] Compare Phillips, "Origin and Growth of the Southern Black Belts," in *Amer. Hist. Review*, xi, p. 799.

[45] *Va. Magazine*, xiii, p. 113.

[46] *Revised Code of Virginia* (Richmond, 1819), ii, p. 339.

ability to act as promoters in locating settlers and securing grants to themselves.

In the northern part of the Shenandoah Valley, lay part of the estate of Lord Fairfax, some six million acres in extent, which came to the family by dower from the old Culpeper and Arlington grant of Northern Neck. In 1748, the youthful Washington was surveying this estate along the upper waters of the Potomac, finding a bed under the stars and learning the life of the frontier. Lord Fairfax established his own Greenway manor,[47] and divided his domain into other manors, giving ninety-nine-year leases to settlers already on the ground at twenty shillings annually per hundred acres; while of the newcomers he exacted two shillings annual quit-rent for this amount of land in fee simple. Litigation kept land titles uncertain here, for many years. Similarly, Beverley's manor, about Staunton, represented a grant of 118,000 acres to Beverley and his associates on condition of placing the proper number of families on the tract.[48] Thus speculative planters on this frontier shared in the movement of occupation and made an aristocratic element in the up-country; but the increasing proportion of Scotch-Irish immigrants, as well as German settlers, together with the contrast in natural conditions, made the interior a different Virginia from that of the tide-water.

As settlement ascended the Rappahannock, and emigrants began to enter the Valley from the north, so, contemporaneously, settlement ascended the James above the falls, succeeding to the posts of the fur-traders.[49] Goochland County was set off in 1728, and the growth of population led, as early as 1729, to proposals for establishing a city (Richmond) at the falls. Along the upper James, as on the Rappahannock, speculative planters bought headrights and located settlers and tenants to hold their grants.[50] Into this region came natives of Virginia, emigrants

[47] *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, xiii, pp. 217, 230; Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist. of America*, v, p. 268; Kercheval, *The Valley* (Winchester, Va., 1833), pp. 67, 209; *Va. Magazine*, xiii, p. 115.

[48] *William and Mary College Quarterly* (Williamsburg, 1895), iii, p. 226—see Jefferson and Frye, *Map of Virginia, 1751*, for location of this and Borden's manor.

[49] Brown, *The Cabells* (Boston, 1895), p. 53.

[50] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 57, 66.

from the British isles, and scattered representatives of other lands, some of them coming up the James, others up the York, and still others arriving with the southward-moving current along both sides of the Blue Ridge.

Before 1730 few settlers lived above the mouth of the Rivanna. In 1732 Peter Jefferson patented a thousand acres at the eastern opening of its mountain gap, and here, under frontier conditions, Thomas Jefferson was born in 1743 near his later estate of Monticello. About him were pioneer farmers, as well as foresighted engrossers of the land. In the main his country was that of a democratic frontier people—Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, Quakers, Baptists, and other sects,[51] out of sympathy with the established church and the landed gentry of the lowlands. This society in which he was born, was to find in Jefferson a powerful exponent of its ideals.[52] Patrick Henry was born in 1736 above the falls, not far from Richmond, and he also was a mouthpiece of interior Virginia in the Revolutionary era. In short, a society was already forming in the Virginia Piedmont which was composed of many sects, of independent yeomen as well as their great planter leaders—a society naturally expansive, seeing its opportunity to deal in unoccupied lands along the frontier which continually moved toward the West, and in this era of the eighteenth century dominated by the democratic ideals of pioneers rather than by the aristocratic tendencies of slaveholding planters. As there were two New Englands, so there were by this time two Virginias, and the uplands belonged with the Old West.

North Carolina

The advance across the fall line from the coast was, in North Carolina, much slower than in Virginia. After the Tuscarora War (1712–13) an extensive region west from Pamlico Sound was opened (1724). The region to the north, about the Roanoke, had before this begun to receive frontier settlers, largely from Virginia. Their traits are interestingly portrayed in

[51] Meade, *Old Churches* (Phila., 1861), 2 vols.; Foote, *Sketches* (Phila., 1855); Brown, *The Cabells*, p. 68.

[52] *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. xci, pp. 83 *et seq.*; Ford, *Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (N. Y., 1892), i, pp. xix *et seq.*

Byrd's *Dividing Line*. By 1728 the farthest inhabitants along the Virginia boundary were frontiersmen about Great Creek, a branch of the Roanoke.[53] The North Carolina commissioners desired to stop running the line after going a hundred and seventy miles, on the plea that they were already fifty miles beyond the outermost inhabitant, and there would be no need for an age or two to carry the line farther; but the Virginia surveyors pointed out that already speculators were taking up the land. A line from Weldon to Fayetteville would roughly mark the western boundary of North Carolina's sparse population of forty thousand souls.[54]

The slower advance is explained, partly because of the later settlement of the Carolinas, partly because the Indians continued to be troublesome on the flanks of the advancing population, as seen in the Tuscarora and Yemassee wars, and partly because the pine barrens running parallel with the fall line made a zone of infertile land not attractive to settlers. The North Carolina low country, indeed, had from the end of the seventeenth century been a kind of southern frontier for overflow from Virginia; and in many ways was assimilated to the type of the up-country in its turbulent democracy, its variety of sects and peoples, and its primitive conditions. But under the lax management of the public lands, the use of "blank patents" and other evasions made possible the development of large landholding, side by side with headrights to settlers. Here, as in Virginia, a great proprietary grant extended across the colony—Lord Granville's proprietary was a zone embracing the northern half of North Carolina. Within this area, sales and quit-rents were administered by the agents of the owner, with the result that uncertainty and disorder of an agrarian nature extended down to the Revolution. There were likewise great speculative holdings, conditioned on seating a certain proportion of settlers, into which the frontiersmen were drifting.[55] But this system also made it possible for agents of later migrating congregations to establish colonies like that of the Mora-

[53] Byrd, *Dividing Line* (Richmond, 1866), pp. 85, 271.

[54] *N. C. Colon. Records*, iii, p. xiii. Compare Hawks, *Hist. of North Carolina* (Fayetteville, 1859), map of precincts, 1663–1729.

[55] Raper, *North Carolina* (N. Y. 1904), chap. v; W. R. Smith, *South Carolina* (N. Y., 1903), pp. 48, 57.

vians at Wachovia.[56] Thus, by the time settlers came into the uplands from the north, a land system existed similar to that of Virginia. A common holding was a square mile (640 acres), but in practice this did not prevent the accumulation of great estates.[57] Whereas Virginia's Piedmont area was to a large extent entered by extensions from the coast, that of North Carolina remained almost untouched by 1730.[58]

South Carolina

The same is true of South Carolina. By 1730, settlement had progressed hardly eighty miles from the coast, even in the settled area of the lowlands. The tendency to engross the lowlands for large plantations was clear, here as elsewhere.[59] The surveyor-general reports in 1732 that not as many as a thousand acres within a hundred miles of Charleston, or within twenty miles of a river or navigable creek, were unpossessed. In 1729 the crown ordered eleven townships of twenty thousand acres each to be laid out in rectangles, divided into fifty acres for each actual settler under a quit-rent of four shillings a year for every hundred acres, or proportionally, to be paid after the first ten years.[60] By 1732 these townships, designed to attract foreign Protestants, were laid out on the great rivers of the colony. As they were located in the middle region, east of the fall line, among pine barrens, or in malarial lands in the southern corner of the colony, they all proved abortive as towns, except Orangeburg[61] on the North Edisto, where German redemptioners made a settlement. The Scotch–Irish Presbyterians

[56] Clewell, *Wachovia* (N. Y., 1902).

[57] Ballagh, in Amer. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1897, pp. 120, 121, citing Bassett, in *Law Quarterly Review*, April, 1895, pp. 159–161.

[58] See map in Hawks, *North Carolina*.

[59] McCrady, *South Carolina*, 1719–1776 (N. Y., 1899), pp. 149, 151; Smith, *South Carolina*, p. 40; Ballagh, in Amer. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1897, pp. 117–119; Brevard, *Digest of S. C. Laws* (Charleston, 1857), i, p. xi.

[60] McCrady, *South Carolina*, pp. 121 *et seq.;* Phillips, *Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt* (N. Y., 1908), p. 51.

[61] This was not originally provided for among the eleven towns. For its history see Salley, *Orangeburg*—frontier conditions about 1769 are described on pp. 219 *et seq.;* see map opposite p. 9.

who came to Williamsburg, on Black River, suffered hardships; as did the Swiss who, under the visionary leadership of Purry, settled in the deadly climate of Purrysburg, on the lower Savannah. To Welsh colonists from Pennsylvania there was made a grant—known as the "Welsh tract," embracing over 173,000 acres on the Great Pedee (Marion County)[62] under headrights of fifty acres, also a bounty in provisions, tools, and livestock.

These attempts, east of the fall line, are interesting as showing the colonial policy of marking out towns (which were to be politically-organized parishes, with representation in the legislature), and attracting foreigners thereto, prior to the coming of settlers from the North.

Georgia

The settlement of Georgia, in 1732, completed the southern line of colonization toward the Piedmont. Among the objects of the colony, as specified in the charters, were the relief of the poor and the protection of the frontiers. To guard against the tendency to engross the lands in great estates, already so clearly revealed in the older colonies, the Georgia trustees provided that the grants of fifty acres should not be alienated or divided, but should pass to the male heirs and revert to the trustees in case heirs were lacking. No grant greater than five hundred acres was permitted, and even this was made conditionally upon the holder settling ten colonists. However, under local conditions and the competition and example of neighboring colonies, this attempt to restrict land tenure in the interest of democracy broke down by 1750, and Georgia's land system became not unlike that of the other Southern colonies.[63]

In 1734, Salzburgers had been located above Savannah, and within seven years some twelve hundred German Protestants were dwelling on the Georgia frontier; while a settlement of Scotch Highlanders at Darien, near the mouth of the Altamaha, protected the southern frontier. At Augusta, an Indian trading fort (1735), whence the dealers in peltry visited the Cherokee, completed the familiar picture of frontier advance.[64]

[62] Gregg, *Old Cheraws*, p. 44.

[63] Ballagh, *loc. cit.*, pp. 119, 120.

[64] Compare the description of Georgia frontier traders, cattle raisers, and land speculators, about 1773, in Bartram, *Travels*, pp. 18, 36, 308.

Resume' of Westward Settlement from the Coast

We have now hastily surveyed the movement of the frontier of settlement westward from the lowlands, in the later years of the seventeenth and early years of the eighteenth century. There is much that is common in the whole line of advance. The original settlers engross the desirable lands of the older area. Indented servants and new-comers pass to the frontier seeking a place to locate their headrights, or plant new towns. Adventurous and speculative wealthy planters acquire large holdings in the new areas, and bring over settlers to satisfy the requirements of seating and cultivating their extensive grants, thus building up a yeomanry of small landholders side by side with the holders of large estates. The most far-sighted of the new-comers follow the example of the planters, and petition for increasingly extensive grants. Meanwhile, pioneers like Abraham Wood, himself once an indented servant, and gentlemen like Col. William Byrd—prosecuting the Indian trade from their posts at the "heads" of the rivers, and combining frontier protection, exploring, and surveying—make known the more distant fertile soils of the Piedmont. Already in the first part of the eighteenth century, the frontier population tended to be a rude democracy, with a large representation of Scotch-Irish, Germans, Welsh, and Huguenot French settlers, holding religious faiths unlike that of the followers of the established church in the lowlands. The movement of slaves into the region was unimportant, but not unknown.

Southward Migration through the Valley to Piedmont

The Virginia Valley was practically unsettled in 1730, as was much of its Piedmont area and all of the Piedmont area of the Carolinas. The significance of the movement of settlers from the North into this vacant valley and Piedmont, behind the area occupied by expansion from the coast is, that it was geographically separated from the westward movement from the coast, and that it was sufficient in volume to recruit the democratic forces and postpone for a long time the process of social assimilation to the type of the lowlands.

As has been pointed out, especially in the Carolinas a belt of pine barrens, roughly eighty miles in breadth, ran parallel with the fall line and thus discouraged western advance across this belt, even before the head of navigation was reached. In Virginia, the Blue Ridge made an almost equally effective barrier, walling off the Shenandoah Valley from the westward advance. At the same time this valley was but a continuation of the Great Valley, that ran along the eastern edge of the Alleghanies in southeastern Pennsylvania, and included in its mountain trough the Cumberland and Hagerstown valleys. In short, a broad limestone band of fertile soil was stretched within mountain walls, southerly from Pennsylvania to southwestern Virginia; and here the watergaps opened the way to descend to the Carolina Piedmont. This whole area, a kind of peninsula thrust down from Pennsylvania, was rendered comparatively inaccessible to the westward movement from the lowlands, and was equally accessible to the population which was entering Pennsylvania.[65]

Thus it happened that from about 1730 to 1760 a generation of settlers poured along this mountain trough into the southern uplands, or Piedmont, creating a new continuous social and economic area, which cut across the artificial colonial boundary lines, disarranged the regular extension of local government from the coast westward, and built up a new Pennsylvania in contrast with the old Quaker colonies, and a new South in contrast with the tidewater South. This New South composed the southern half of the Old West.

Pennsylvania Germans

From its beginning, Pennsylvania was advertised as a home for dissenting sects seeking freedom in the wilderness. But it was not until the exodus of German redemptioners,[66] from about 1717, that the Palatinate and neighboring areas sent the great tide of Germans which by the time of the Revolution made them nearly a third of the total population of Pennsylvania. It has

[65] See Willis, "Northern Appalachians," in *Physiography of the U. S.* in National Geog. Soc. *Monographs* (N. Y., 1895), no. 6.

[66] Diffenderfer, "German Immigration into Pennsylvania," in Pa. German Soc. *Proc.*, v, p. 10; *Redemptioners* (Lancaster, Pa., 1900).

been carefully estimated that in 1775 over 200,000 Germans lived in the thirteen colonies, chiefly along the frontier zone of the Old West. Of these, a hundred thousand had their home in Pennsylvania, mainly in the Great Valley, in the region which is still so notably the abode of the "Pennsylvania Dutch."[67]

Space does not permit us to describe this movement of colonization.[68] The entrance to the fertile limestone soils of the Great Valley of Pennsylvania was easy, in view of the low elevation of the South Mountain ridge, and the watergaps thereto. The continuation along the similar valley to the south, in Maryland and Virginia, was a natural one, especially as the increasing tide of emigrants raised the price of lands.[69] In 1719 the proprietor's price for Pennsylvania lands was ten pounds per hundred acres, and two shillings quit-rents. In 1732 this became fifteen and one-half pounds, with a quit-rent of a half penny per acre.[70] During the period 1718 to 1732, when the Germans were coming in great numbers, the management of the lands fell into confusion, and many seated themselves as squatters, without title.[71] This was a fortunate possibility for the poor redemptioners, who had sold their service for a term of years in order to secure their transportation to America.

By 1726 it was estimated that there were 100,000 squatters;[72] and of the 670,000 acres occupied between 1732 and 1740, it is estimated that 400,000 acres were settled without grants.[73]

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[67] A. B. Faust, in his MS. monograph which won the Conrad Seipp prize for the best study of the German element in the United States.

[68] See the bibliographies in Kuhns, *German and Swiss Settlements of Pennsylvania* (N. Y., 1901); Wayland, *German Element of the Shenandoah Valley* (N. Y. 1908); Channing, *United States*, ii, p. 421; Griffin, *List of Works relating to the Germans in the U. S.* (Library of Congress, Wash., 1904).

[69] See in illustration, the letter in Myers, *Irish Quakers* (Swarthmore, Pa., 1902), p. 70.

[70] Shepherd, *Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania* (N. Y., 1896), p. 34.

[71] Gordon, *Pennsylvania* (Phila., 1829), p. 225.

[72] Shepherd, *loc. cit.*, pp. 49–51.

[73] Ballagh, Amer. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1897, pp. 112, 113. Compare Smith, *St. Clair* Papers (Cincinnati, 1882), ii, p. 101.

Nevertheless these must ultimately be paid for, with interest, and the concession of the right of preemption to squatters made this easier. But it was not until 1755 that the governor offered land free from purchase, and this was to be taken only west of the Alleghanies.[74]

Although the credit system relieved the difficulty in Pennsylvania, the lands of that colony were in competition with the Maryland lands, offered between 1717 and 1738 at forty shillings sterling per hundred acres, which in 1738 was raised to five pounds sterling.[75] At the same time, in the Virginia Valley, as will be recalled, free grants were being made of a thousand acres per family. Although large tracts of the Shenandoah Valley had been granted to speculators like Beverley, Borden, and the Carters, as well as to Lord Fairfax, the owners sold six or seven pounds cheaper per hundred acres than did the Pennsylvania land office.[76] Between 1726 and 1734, therefore, the Germans began to enter this valley,[77] and before long they extended their settlements into the Piedmont of the Carolinas,[78] being recruited in South Carolina by emigrants coming by way of Charleston—especially after Governor Glenn's purchase from the Cherokee in 1755, of the extreme western portion of the colony. Between 1750 and the Revolution, these settlers in the Carolinas greatly increased in numbers.

Thus a zone of almost continuous German settlements had been established, running from the head of the Mohawk in New York to the Savannah in Georgia. They had found the best soils, and they knew how to till them intensively and thriftily, as attested by their large, well-filled barns, good stock, and big

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[74] Shepherd, *loc. cit.*, p. 50.

[75] Mereness, *Maryland* (N. Y., 1901), p. 77.

[76] *Calendar Va. State Papers* (Richmond, 1875), i, p. 217; on these grants see Kemper, "Early Westward Movement in Virginia" in *Va. Mag.*, xii and xiii; Wayland, "German Element of the Shenandoah Valley," *William and Mary College Quarterly*, iii. The speculators, both planters and new-comers, soon made application for lands beyond the Alleghanies.

[77] In 1794 the Virginia House of Delegates resolved to publish the most important laws of the state in German.

[78] See Bernheim, *German Settlements in the Carolinas* (Phila., 1872); Clewell, *Wachovia;* Allen, *German Palatines in N. C.* (Raleigh, 1905)

canvass-covered Conestoga wagons. They preferred to dwell in groups, often of the same religious denomination—Lutherans, Reformed, Moravians, Mennonites, and many lesser sects. The diaries of Moravian missionaries from Pennsylvania, who visited them, show how the parent congregations kept in touch with their colonies[79] and how intimate, in general, was the bond of connection between this whole German frontier zone and that of Pennsylvania.

Scotch-Irish

Side by side with this German occupation of Valley and Piedmont, went the migration of the Scotch–Irish.[80] These lowland Scots had been planted in Ulster early in the seventeenth century. Followers of John Knox, they had the contentious individualism and revolutionary temper that seem natural to Scotch Presbyterianism. They were brought up on the Old Testament, and in the doctrine of government by covenant or compact. In Ireland their fighting qualities had been revealed in the siege of Londonderry, where their stubborn resistance balked the hopes of James II. However, religious and political disabilities were imposed upon these Ulstermen, which made them discontented, and hard times contributed to detach them from their homes. Their movement to America was contemporaneous with the heavy German migration. By the Revolution, it is believed that a third of the population of Pennsylvania was Scotch–Irish; and it has been estimated, probably too liberally, that a half million came to the United States between 1730 and 1770.[81] Especially after the Rebellion of 1745, large numbers of Highlanders came to increase the Scotch blood in

[79] See Wayland, *loc. cit.*, bibliography, for references; and especially *Va. Mag.*, xi, pp. 113, 225, 370, xii, pp. 55, 134, 271; *German American Annals*, N. S. iii, pp. 342, 369, iv, p. 16; Clewell, *Wachovia; N. C. Colon. Records*, v, pp. 1–14.

[80] On the Scotch-Irish, see the bibliography in Green, "Scotch-Irish in America," Amer. Antiquarian Soc. *Proceedings*, April, 1895; Hanna, *Scotch-Irish* (N. Y., 1902), is a comprehensive presentation of the subject; see also Myers, *Irish Quakers*.

[81] Fiske, *Old Virginia* (Boston, 1897), ii, p. 394. Compare Linehan, *The Irish Scots and the Scotch-Irish* (Concord, N. H., 1902).

the nation.[82] Some of the Scotch–Irish went to New England.[83] Given the cold shoulder by congregational Puritans, they passed to unsettled lands about Worcester, to the frontiers in the Berkshires, and in southern New Hampshire at Londonderry—whence came John Stark, a frontier leader in the French and Indian War, and the hero of Bennington in the Revolution, as well as the ancestors of Horace Greeley and S. P. Chase. The frontier college of Dartmouth was Presbyterian in its origin. In New York, a Scotch-Irish settlement was planted on the frontier at Cherry Valley.[84] Scotch Highlanders came to the Mohawk,[85] where they followed Sir William Johnson and became Tory raiders in the Revolution.

But it was in Pennsylvania that the centre of Scotch-Irish power lay. "These bold and indigent strangers, saying as their excuse when challenged for titles that we had solicited for colonists and they had come accordingly,"[86] and asserting that "it was against the laws of God and nature that so much land should be idle while so many christians wanted it to work on and to raise their bread," squatted on the vacant lands, especially in the region disputed between Pennsylvania and Maryland, and remained in spite of efforts to drive them off. Finding the Great Valley in the hands of the Germans, they planted their own outposts along the line of the Indian trading path from Lancaster to Bedford; they occupied Cumberland Valley, and before 1760 pressed up the Juniata somewhat beyond the narrows, spreading out along its tributaries, and by 1768 had to be warned off from the Redstone country to avoid Indian trouble. By the time of the Revolution, their settlements made Pittsburg a centre from which was to come a new era in Pennsylvania history. It was the Scotch-Irish and German fur-traders[87] whose pack trains pioneered into the Ohio Valley in the days before the French and Indian wars. The

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[82] See MacLean, *Scotch Highlanders in America* (Cleveland, 1900).

[83] Hanna, *Scotch-Irish*, ii, pp. 17–24.

[84] Halsey, *Old New York Frontier* (N. Y., 1901).

[85] MacLean, pp. 196–230.

[86] The words of Logan, Penn's agent, in 1724, in Hanna, ii, pp. 60, 63.

[87] Winsor, *Mississippi Basin* (Boston, 1895), pp. 238–243.

messengers between civilization and savagery were such men[88] as the Irish Croghan, and the Germans Conrad Weiser and Christian Post.

Like the Germans, the Scotch-Irish passed into the Shenandoah Valley,[89] and on to the uplands of the South. In 1738 a delegation of the Philadelphia Presbyterian synod was sent to the Virginia governor and received assurances of security of religious freedom; the same policy was followed by the Carolinas. By 1760 a zone of Scotch-Irish Presbyterian churches extended from the frontiers of New England to the frontiers of South Carolina. This zone combined in part with the German zone, but in general Scotch-Irishmen tended to follow the valleys farther toward the mountains, to be the outer edge of this frontier. Along with this combined frontier stream were English, Welsh and Irish Quakers, and French Huguenots.[90]

Among this moving mass, as it passed along the Valley into the Piedmont, in the middle of the eighteenth century, were Daniel Boone, John Sevier, James Robertson, and the ancestors of John C. Calhoun, Abraham Lincoln, Jefferson Davis, Stonewall Jackson, James K. Polk, Sam Houston, and Davy Crockett; while the father of Andrew Jackson came to the Carolina Piedmont at the same time from the coast. Recalling that Thomas Jefferson's home was in this frontier, at the edge of the Blue Ridge, we perceive that these names represent the militant expansive movement in American life. They fortell the settlement across the Alleghanies in Kentucky and Tennessee; the Louisiana Purchase, and Lewis and Clark's transcontinental exploration; the conquest of the Gulf Plains in the War of 1812–15; the annexation of Texas; the acquisition of California and the Spanish Southwest. They represent, too, frontier democracy

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[88] See Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904–06), i; Walton, *Conrad Weiser* (Phila., 1900); Heckewelder, *Narrative* (Phila., 1820).

[89] Christian, *Scotch-Irish Settlers in the Valley of Virginia* (Richmond, 1860).

[90] Roosevelt gives an interesting picture of this society in his *Winning of the West* (N. Y., 1889–96), i, chap. v; see also his citations, especially Doddridge, *Settlements and Indian Wars* (Wellsburgh, W. Va., 1824).

in its two aspects personified in Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln. It was a democracy responsive to leadership, susceptible to waves of emotion, of a "high religious voltage"—quick and direct in action.

The volume of this Northern movement into the Southern uplands is illustrated by the statement of Governor Tryon, of North Carolina, that in the summer and winter of 1765 more than a thousand immigrant wagons passed through Salisbury, in that colony.[91] Coming by families, or groups of families or congregations, they often drove their flocks with them. Whereas in 1746 scarce a hundred fighting men were found in Orange and the western counties of North Carolina, there were in 1753 fully three thousand, in addition to over a thousand Scotch in the Cumberland; and they covered the province more or less thickly, from Hillsboro and Fayetteville to the mountains.[92] Bassett remarks that the Presbyterians received their first ministers from the synod of New York and Pennsylvania, and later on sent their ministerial students to Princeton College. "Indeed it is likely that the inhabitants of this region knew more about Philadelphia at that time than about Newbern or Edenton." [93]

Results

We are now in a position to note briefly, in conclusion, some of the results of the occupation of this new frontier during the first half of the eighteenth century—some of the consequences of this formation of the Old West.

I. A fighting frontier had been created all along the line from New England to Georgia, which bore the brunt of French and Indian attacks and gave indispensable service during the Revolution. The significance of this fact could only be developed by an extended survey of the scattered border warfare of this era. We should have to see Rogers leading his New England Rangers, and Washington defending interior Virginia with his frontiersmen in their hunting shirts, in the French and Indian War. When all of the campaigns about the region of

[91] Bassett, in Amer. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1894, p. 145.

[92] *N. C. Colon. Records*, v, pp. xxxix, xl; cf. p. xxi.

[93] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 146, 147.

Canada, Lake Champlain, and the Hudson, central New York (Oriskany, Cherry Valley, Sullivan's expedition against the Iroquois), Wyoming Valley, western Pennsylvania, the Virginia Valley, and the back country of the South are considered as a whole from this point of view, the meaning of the Old West will become more apparent.

II. A new society had been established, differing in essentials from the colonial society of the coast. It was a democratic, self-sufficing, primitive agricultural society, in which individualism was more pronounced than the community life of the lowlands. The indented servant and the slave were not a normal part of its labor system. It was engaged in grain and cattle raising, not in producing staples, and it found a partial means of supplying its scarcity of specie by the peltries which it shipped to the coast. But the hunter folk were already pushing farther on; the cow-pens and the range were giving place to the small farm, as in our own day they have done in the cattle country. It was a region of hard work and poverty, not of wealth and leisure. Schools and churches were secured under serious difficulty,[94] if at all; but in spite of the natural tendencies of a frontier life, a large portion of the interior showed a distinctly religious atmosphere.

III. The Old West began that movement of internal trade which developed home markets and diminished that colonial dependence on Europe in industrial matters, shown by the maritime and staple-raising sections. Not only did Boston and other New England towns increase as trading centres when the back country settled up, but an even more significant interchange occurred along the Valley and Piedmont. The German farmers of the Great Valley brought their woven linen, knitted stockings, firkins of butter, dried apples, grain, etc., to Philadelphia and especially to Baltimore, which was laid out in 1730. To this city also came trade from the Shenandoah Valley, and

[94] See the interesting account of Rev. Moses Waddell's school in South Carolina, on the upper Savannah, where the students, including John C. Calhoun, McDuffe, Legaré, and Petigru, were educated in the wilderness. They lived in log huts in the woods, furnished their own supplies, or boarded near by, were called to the log school-house by horn for morning prayers, and then scattered in groups to the woods for study. Hunt, *Calhoun* (Phila., 1907), p. 13.

even from the Piedmont came peltry trains and droves of cattle and hogs to the same market.[95] The increase of settlement on the upper James resulted in the establishment of the city of Richmond at the falls of the river in 1737. Already the tobacco-planting aristocracy of the lowlands were finding rivals in the grain-raising area of interior Virginia and Maryland. Charleston prospered as the up-country of the Carolinas grew. Writing in the middle of the eighteenth century, Governor Glenn, of South Carolina, explained the apparent diminution of the colony's shipping thus:[96]

> Our trade with New York and Philadelphia was of this sort, draining us of all the little money and bills that we could gather from other places, for their bread, flour, beer, hams, bacon, and other things of their produce, all which, except beer, our new townships begin to supply us with which are settled with very industrious and consequently thriving Germans.

It was not long before this interior trade produced those rivalries for commercial ascendancy, between the coastwise cities, which still continue. The problem of internal improvements became a pressing one, and the statutes show increasing provision for roads, ferries, bridges, river improvements, etc.[97] The basis was being laid for a national economy, and at the same time a new source for foreign export was created.

IV. The Old West raised the issues of nativism and a lower standard of comfort. In New England, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians had been frowned upon and pushed away by the Puritan townsmen.[98] In Pennsylvania, the coming of the Germans and the Scotch-Irish in such numbers caused grave anxiety. Indeed, a bill was passed to limit the importation of the Palatines, but it was vetoed.[99] Such astute observers as Franklin feared in 1753 that Pennsylvania would be unable to preserve its language

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[95] Scharf, *Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), ii, p. 61, and chaps. i and xviii; Kercheval, *The Valley*.

[96] Weston, *Documents*, p. 82.

[97] See, for example, Phillips, *Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt*, pp. 21–53.

[98] Hanna, *Scotch-Irish*, ii, pp. 19, 22–24.

[99] Cobb, *Story of the Palatines* (Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1897), p. 300, citing *Penn. Colon. Records*, iv, pp. 225, 345.

and that even its government would become precarious.[1] "I remember," he declares, "when they modestly declined intermeddling in our elections, but now they come in droves and carry all before them, except in one or two counties;" and he lamented that the English could not remove their prejudices by addressing them in German.[2] Dr. Douglass[3] apprehended that Pennsylvania would "degenerate into a foreign colony" and endanger the quiet of the adjacent provinces. Edmund Burke, regretting that the Germans adhered to their own schools, literature, and language, and that they possessed great tracts without admixture of English, feared that they would not blend and become one people with the British colonists, and that the colony was threatened with the danger of being wholly foreign. He also noted that "these foreigners by their industry, frugality, and a hard way of living, in which they greatly exceed our people, have in a manner thrust them out in several places."[4] This is a phenomenon with which a succession of later frontiers has familiarized us. In point of fact the "Pennsylvania Dutch" remained through our history a very stubborn area to assimilate, with corresponding effects upon Pennsylvania politics.

It should be noted also that this coming of non-English stocks to the frontier raised in all the colonies affected, questions of naturalization and land tenure by aliens.[5]

Struggle of the West Against the East

V. The creation of this frontier society—of which so large a portion differed from that of the coast in language and religion as well as in economic life, social structure, and ideals—produced an antagonism between interior and coast, which worked itself out in interesting fashion. In general this took these forms: contests between the property-holding class of the coast and the debtor class of the interior, where specie was lacking,

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[1] *Works* (Bigelow ed.), ii, pp. 296–299.

[2] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 297; cf. p. 221.

[3] *Summary* (1755), ii, p. 326.

[4] *European Settlements* (London, 1793), ii, p. 200 (1765); cf. Franklin, *Works* (N. Y., 1905–07), ii, p. 221, to the same effect.

[5] Proper, "Colonial Immigration Laws," in Columbia Univ. *Studies*, xii.

and where paper money and a readjustment of the basis of taxation were demanded; contests over defective or unjust local government in the administration of taxes, fees, lands, and the courts; contests over unfair apportionment in the legislature, whereby the coast was able to dominate, even when its population was in the minority; contests to secure the complete separation of church and state; and, later, contests over slavery, internal improvements, and party politics in general. These contests are also intimately connected with the political philosophy of the Revolution and with the development of American democracy. In nearly every colony prior to the Revolution, struggles had been in progress between the party of privilege, chiefly the Eastern men of property allied with the English authorities, and the democratic classes, strongest in the West and the cities.

This theme deserves more space than can here be allotted to it; but a rapid survey of conditions in this respect, along the whole frontier, will at least serve to bring out the point.

In New England as a whole, the contest is less in evidence. That part of the friction elsewhere seen as the result of defective local government in the back country, was met by the efficiency of the town system; but between the interior and the coast there were struggles over apportionment and religious freedom. The former is illustrated by the convention that met in Dracut, Massachusetts, in 1776, to petition the states of Massachusetts and New Hampshire to relieve the financial distress and unfair legislative representation. Sixteen of the border towns of New Hampshire sent delegates to this convention. Two years later, these New Hampshire towns attempted to join Vermont.[6] As a Revolutionary state, Vermont itself was an illustration of the same tendency of the interior to break away from the coast. Massachusetts in this period witnessed a campaign between the paper money party which was entrenched in the more recently and thinly-settled areas of the interior and west, and the property-holding classes of the coast.[7] The op-

[6] Libby, "Distribution of the Vote on the Federal Constitution," Univ. of Wis. *Bulletin*, pp. 8, 9, and citations. Note especially *New Hampshire State Papers*, x, pp. 228 *et seq.*

[7] Libby, *loc. cit.*, pp. 12–14, 46, 54–57.

position to the constitutions of 1778 and 1780 is tinctured with the same antagonism between the ideas of the newer part of the interior and of the coast.[8] Shay's Rebellion and the anti-federal opposition of 1787–88 found its stronghold in the same interior areas.[9]

The religious struggles continued until the democratic interior, where dissenting sects were strong, and where there was antagonism to the privileges of the congregational church, finally secured complete disestablishment in New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Massachusetts. But this belongs to a later period.[10]

Pennsylvania affords a clear illustration of these sectional antagonisms. The memorial of the frontier "Paxton Boys," in 1764, demanded a right to share in political privileges with the older part of the colony, and protested against the apportionment by which the counties of Chester, Bucks, and Philadelphia, together with the city of Philadelphia, elected twenty-six delegates, while the five frontier counties had but ten.[11] The frontier complained against the failure of the dominant Quaker party of the coast to protect the interior against the Indians.[12] The three old wealthy counties under Quaker rule feared the growth of the West, therefore made few new counties, and carefully restricted the representation in each to preserve the majority in the old section. At the same time, by a property qualification they met the danger of the democratic city population. Among the points of grievance in this colony, in addition to apportionment and representation, was the difficulty of access to the county seat, owing to the size of the back counties. Dr. Lincoln has well set forth the struggle of the back country, culminating in its triumph in the constitutional convention of

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[8] Farrand, in *Yale Review*, May, 1908, p. 52 and citation.

[9] Libby, *loc. cit.*

[10] See Turner, *Rise of the New West* (Amer. Nation series, N. Y., 1906), pp. 16–18.

[11] Parkman, *Pontiac* (Boston, 1851), ii, p. 352.

[12] Shepherd, "Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania," in Columbia Univ. *Studies*, vi, pp. 546 *et seq.* Compare Watson, *Annals*, ii, p. 259; Green, *Provincial America* (Amer. Nation series, N. Y., 1905), p. 234.

1776, which was chiefly the work of the Presbyterian counties.[18] Indeed, there were two revolutions in Pennsylvania, which went on side by side: one a revolt against the coastal property-holding classes, the old dominant Quaker party, and the other a revolt against Great Britain, which was in this colony made possible only by the triumph of the interior.

In Virginia, as early as 1710, Governor Spotswood had complained that the old counties remained small while the new ones were sometimes ninety miles long, the inhabitants being obliged to travel thirty or fourty miles to their own court-house. Some of the counties had 1,700 tithables, while others only a dozen miles square had 500. Justices of the peace disliked to ride forty or fifty miles to their monthly courts. Likewise there was disparity in the size of parishes—for example, that of Varina, on the upper James, had nine hundred tithables, many of whom lived fifty miles from their church. But the vestry refused to allow the remote parishioners to separate, because it would increase the parish levy of those that remained. He feared lest this would afford "opportunity to Sectarys to establish their opinions among 'em, and thereby shake that happy establishment of the Church of England which this colony enjoys with less mixture of Dissenters than any other of her Maj'tie's plantations, and when once Schism has crept into the Church, it will soon create faction in the Civil Government."

That Spotswood's fears were well founded, we have already seen. As the sectaries of the back country increased, dissatisfaction with the established church grew; until in the Revolution, Patrick Henry and Jefferson, with the back country behind them, were able to destroy the establishment, and to break down the system of entails and primogeniture behind which the tobacco-planting aristocracy of the coast was entrenched. The desire of Jefferson to see slavery gradually abolished and popular education provided, is a further illustration of the attitude of the interior. In short Jeffersonian democracy, with its idea of separation of church and state, its wish to popularize education, and its dislike for special privilege, was deeply affected by the Western society of the Old Dominion.

[18] Lincoln, *Revolutionary Movement in Pennsylvania* (Boston, 1901); McMaster and Stone, *Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution* (Lancaster, 1888).

The Virginian reform movement, however, was unable to redress the grievance of unequal apportionment. In 1780 Jefferson pointed out that the practice of allowing each county an equal representation in the legislature gave control to the numerous small counties of the tidewater, while the large populous counties of the up-country suffered. "Thus," he wrote, "the 19,000 men below the falls give law to more than 30,000 living in other parts of the state, and appoint all their chief officers, executive and judiciary."[14] This led to a long struggle between coast and interior, terminated only when the slave population passed across the fall line, and more nearly assimilated coast and up-country. In the mountain areas which did not undergo this change, the independent state of West Virginia remains as a monument of the contest. In the convention of 1829–30, the whole philosophy of representation was discussed, and the coast defended its control as necessary to protect property from the assaults of a numerical majority. They feared that the interior would tax their slaves in order to secure funds for internal improvements.

As Doddridge put the case:[15]

> The principle is that the owners of slave property must be possessed of all the powers of government, however small their own numbers may be, to secure that property from the rapacity of an overgrown majority of white men. This principle admits of no relaxation, because the weaker the minority becomes, the greater will their need for power be according to their own doctrines.

Leigh of Chesterfield county declared:[16]

> It is remarkable—I mention it for the curiosity of the fact—that if any evil, physical or moral, arise in any of the states south of us, it never takes a northerly direction, or taints the Southern breeze; whereas, if any plague originate in the North, it is sure to spread to the South and to invade us sooner or later: the influenza—the small

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[14] *Notes on Virginia.* See his table of apportionment in Ford, *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, iii, p. 222.

[15] *Debates of the Virginia State Convention, 1829–1830* (Richmond, 1854), p. 87. These debates constitute a mine of material on the difficulty of reconciling the political philosophy of the Revolution with the protection of the property, including slaves, of the lowland planters.

[16] *Loc. cit.*, p. 407. The italics are mine.

pox—the varioloid—the Hessian fly—the Circuit Court system—Universal Suffrage—all come from the North, *and they always cross above the falls of the great rivers*: below, it seems, the broad expanse of waters interposing, effectually arrests their progress.

Nothing could more clearly bring out the sense of contrast between upland and lowland Virginia, and the continued intimacy of the bond of connection between the North and its Valley and Piedmont colonies, than this unconscious testimony.

In North and South Carolina the upland South, beyond the pine barrens and the fall line, had similar grievances against the coast; but as the zone of separation was more strongly marked, the grievances were more acute. The tide of backwoods settlement flowing down the Piedmont from the north, had cut across the lines of local government and disarranged the regular course of development of the colonies from the seacoast.[17] Under the common practice, large counties in North Carolina and parishes in South Carolina had been projected into the unoccupied interior from the older settlements along their eastern edge.

But the Piedmont settlers brought their own social order, and could not be well governed by the older planters living far toward the seaboard settlements. This may be illustrated by conditions in South Carolina. The general court in Charleston had absorbed county and precinct courts, except the minor jurisdiction of justices of the peace. This was well enough for the great planters who made their regular residence there for a part of each year; but it was a source of oppression to the upcountry settlers, remote from the court. The difficulty of bringing witnesses, the delay of the law, and the costs all resulted in the escape of criminals as well as in the immunity of reckless debtors. The extortions of officials, and their occasional collusion with horse and cattle thieves, and the lack of regular administration of the law, led the South Carolina upcountry men to take affairs in their own hands, and in 1764 to establish associations to administer lynch law under the name of "Regulators." The "Scovillites," or government party, and the Regulators met in arms on the Saluda in 1769, but hostilities were averted and remedial measures passed, which alleviated

[17] McCrady, *South Carolina, 1719–1776*, p. 623.

the difficulty until the Revolution.[18] There still remained, however, the grievance of unjust legislative representation.[19] Calhoun stated the condition in these words:

> **The upper country had no representation in the government and no political existence as a constitutent portion of the state until a period near the commencement of the revolution. Indeed, during the revolution, and until the formation of the present constitution, in 1790, its political weight was scarcely felt in the government, even then although it had become the most populous section, power was so distributed under the constitution as to leave it in a minority in every department of government.**

Even in 1794 it was claimed by the up-country leaders that four-fifths of the people were governed by one-fifth. Nor was the difficulty met until the constitutional amendment of 1808, the effect of which was to give the control of the senate to the lower section and of the house of representatives to the upper section, thus providing a mutual veto.[20] This South Carolina experience furnished the historical basis for Calhoun's argument for nullification, and for the political philosophy underlying his theory of the "concurrent majority."[21] This adjustment was effected, however, only after the advance of the black belt toward the interior had assimilated portions of the Piedmont to lowland ideals.

When we turn to North Carolina's upper country we find the familiar story, but with a more tragic ending. The local officials owed their selection to the governor and the council whom he appointed. Thus power was all concentrated in the official "ring" of the lowland area. The men of the interior resented the extortionate fees and the poll tax, which bore with unequal weight upon the poor settlers of the back country. This

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[18] Brevard, *Digest of S. C. Laws*, i, pp. xxiv, 253; McCrady, *South Carolina, 1719–1776*, p. 637; Schaper, "Sectionalism in South Carolina," in Amer. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1900, i, pp. 334–338.

[19] Schaper, *loc. cit.*, pp. 338, 339; Calhoun, *Works* (N. Y., 1851–59), i, p. 402; *Columbia* (S. C.) *Gazette*, Aug. 1, 1794; Ramsay, *South Carolina*, pp. 64–66, 195, 217; Elliot, *Debates*, iv, pp. 288, 289, 296–299, 305, 309, 312.

[20] Schaper, *loc. cit.*, pp. 400–437 *et seq.*

[21] Turner, *Rise of the New West*, pp. 50–52, 331; Calhoun, *Works*, i, pp. 400–405.

tax had been continued after sufficient funds had been collected to extinquish the debt for which it was originally levied, but venal sheriffs had failed to pay it into the treasury. A report of 1770 showed at least one defaulting sheriff in every county of the province."[22] This tax, which was almost the sole tax of the colony, was to be collected in specie, for the warehouse system, by which staples might be accepted, while familiar on the coast, did not apply to the interior. The specie was exceedingly difficult to obtain; in lack of it, the farmer saw the sheriff, who owed his appointment to the dominant lowland planters, sell the lands of the delinquent to his speculative friends. Lawyers and court fees followed.

In short, the interior felt that it was being exploited,[23] and it had no redress, for the legislature was so apportioned that all power rested in the old lowland region. Efforts to secure paper money failed by reason of the governor's opposition under instructions from the crown, and the currency was contracting at the very time when population was rapidly increasing in the interior.[24] As in New England, in the days of Shay's Rebellion, violent prejudice existed against the judiciary and the lawyers, and it must, of course, be understood that the movement was not free from frontier dislike of taxation and the restraints of law and order in general. In 1766 and 1768, meetings were held in the upper counties to organize the opposition, and an "association"[25] was formed, the members of which pledged themselves to pay no more taxes or fees until they satisfied themselves that these were agreeable to law.

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[22] *N. C. Colon. Records*, vii, pp. xiv–xvii.

[23] See Bassett, "Regulators of N. C." in Amer. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1894, pp. 141 (bibliog.) *et seq.; N. C. Colon. Records*, pp. vii–x (Saunder's introductions are valuable); Caruthers, *Dr. David Caldwell* (Greensborough, N. C., 1842); Waddell, *Colonial Officer* (Raleigh, 1890); M. De L. Haywood, *Governor William Tryon* (Raleigh, N. C., 1903); Clewell, *Wachovia*, chap. x; W. E. Fitch, *Some Neglected History of N. C.* (N. Y., 1905); L. A. McCorkle and F. Nash, in *N. C. Booklet* (Raleigh, 1901–07), iii; Wheeler, *North Carolina*, ii, pp. 301 *et seq.*; Cutter, *Lynch Law*, chaps. ii and iii.

[24] Bassett, *loc. cit.*, p. 152.

[25] Wheeler, *North Carolina*, ii, pp. 301–306; *N. C. Colon. Records*, vii, p. 251, 699.

The Regulators, as they called themselves, assembled in the autumn of 1768 to the number of nearly four thousand, and tried to secure terms of adjustment. In 1770 the court-house at Hillsboro was broken into by a mob. The assembly passed some measures designed to conciliate the back country; but before they became operative, Governor Tryon's militia, about twelve hundred men, largely from the lowlands, and led by the gentry whose privileges were involved, met the motley army of the Regulators, who numbered about two thousand, in the battle of the Alamance (May, 1771). Many were killed and wounded, the Regulators dispersed, and over six thousand men came into camp and took the oath of submission to the colonial authorities. The battle was not the first battle of the Revolution, as it has been sometimes called, for it had little or no relation to the stamp act; and many of the frontiersmen involved, later refused to fight against England because of the very hatred which had been inspired for the lowland Revolutionary leaders in this battle of the Alamance. The interior of the Carolinas was a region where neighbors, during the Revolution, engaged in internecine conflicts of Tories against Whigs.

But in the sense that the battle of Alamance was a conflict against privilege, and for equality of political rights and power, it was indeed a preliminary battle of the Revolution, although fought against many of the very men who later professed Revolutionary doctrines in North Carolina. The need of recognizing the importance of the interior led to concessions in the convention of 1776 in that state. "Of the forty-four sections of the constitution, thirteen are embodiments of reforms sought by the Regulators."[26] But it was in this period that hundreds of North Carolina backwoodsmen crossed the mountains to Tennessee and Kentucky, many of them coming from the heart of the Regulator region. They used the device of "associations" to provide for government in their communities.[27]

In the matter of apportionment, North Carolina showed the same lodgment of power in the hands of the coast, even after population preponderated in the Piedmont.[28]

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[26] *N. C. Colon. Records*, viii, p. xix.

[27] Turner, in *Amer. Hist. Review*, i, p. 76.

[28] *N. C. Colon. Records*, vii, pp. xiv–xxiv.

It is needless to comment on the uniformity of the evidence which has been adduced, to show that the Old West, the interior region from New England to Georgia, had a common grievance against the coast; that it was deprived throughout most of the region of its due share of representation, and neglected and oppressed in local government in large portions of the section. The familiar struggle of West against East, of democracy against privileged classes, was exhibited along the entire line. The phenomenon must be considered as a unit, not in the fragments of state histories. It was a struggle of interior against coast.

VI. Perhaps the most noteworthy contribution in the Revolutionary era, aside from the military aspects already mentioned, was in the part which the multitude of sects in the Old West played in securing the great contribution which the United States made to civilization by providing for complete religious liberty a secular state with free churches. Particularly the Revolutionary constitutions of Pennsylvania and Virginia, under the influence of the back country, insured religious freedom. The efforts of the North Carolina upland area to secure a similar result were noteworthy, though for the time ineffective.[29]

VII. As population increased in these years, the coast gradually yielded to the up-country's demands. This may be illustrated by the transfer of the capitals from the lowlands to the fall line and Valley. In 1779, Virginia changed her seat of government from Williamsburg to Richmond; in 1790, South Carolina, from Charleston to Columbia; in 1791, North Carolina, from Edenton to Raleigh; in 1797, New York, from New York City to Albany; in 1799, Pennsylvania, from Philadelphia to Lancaster.

VIII. The democratic aspects of the new constitutions was also influenced by the frontier as well as by the prevalent Revolutionary philosophy; and the demands for paper money, stay and tender laws, etc., of this period were strongest in the inter-

[29] Weeks, *Church and State in North Carolina* (Baltimore, 1893); *N. C. Colon. Records*, x, p. 870; Curry, *Establishment and Disestablishment* (Phila., 1889); C. F. James, *Documentary History of the Struggle for Religious Liberty in Virginia* (Lynchburg, Va., 1900); Semple, *The Virginia Baptists* (Richmond, 1810); Amer. Hist. Assoc. *Papers*, ii, p. 21, iii, pp. 205, 213.

ior. It was this region that supported the turbulence of the area in New England, where Shay's Rebellion occurred; it was (with some important exceptions) the same area that resisted the ratification of the federal constitution, fearful of its stronger government and of the loss of paper money.

IX. The interior later showed its opposition to the coast by the persistent contest against slavery, carried on in the up-country of Virginia, and North and South Carolina. Until the decade 1830–40, it was not certain that both Virginia and North Carolina would not find some means of gradual abolition. The same influence accounts for much of the exodus of the Piedmont pioneers into Indiana and Illinois, in the first half of the nineteenth century.[30]

X. These were the regions, also, in which were developed the desires of the pioneers who crossed the mountains, and settled on the "Western waters," to establish new states, free from control by the lowlands, owning their own lands, able to determine their own currency, and in general to govern themselves in accordance with the ideals of the Old West. They were ready also, if need be, to become independent of the old thirteen. Vermont must be considered in this aspect, as well as Kentucky and Tennessee.

XI. The land system of the Old West furnished precedents which developed into the land system of the trans-Alleghany West.[31] The squatters of Pennsylvania and the Carolinas found it easy to repeat the operation on another frontier. Pre-emption laws became established features. The Revolution gave opportunity to confiscate the claims of Lord Fairfax, Lord Granville, and McCulloh to their vast estates, as well as the remaining lands of the Pennsylvania proprietors. The 640 acre (or one

[30] See Ballagh, "Slavery in Virginia," Johns Hopkins Univ. *Studies*, extra, xxiv; Bassett, "Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina," *Id.*, xiv, pp. 169–254; Bassett, "Slavery in the State of North Carolina," *Id.*, xvii; Bassett, "Antislavery Leaders in North Carolina," *Id.*, xvi; Weeks, "Southern Quakers," *Id.*, xv, extra; Schaper, "Sectionalism in South Carolina," Amer. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1900; Turner, *Rise of the New West*, pp. 54–56, 76–78, 80, 90, 150–152.

[31] Hening, x, p. 35; *Public Acts of N. C.*, i, pp. 204, 306; *Revised Code of Va., 1819*, ii, p. 357; Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, i, p. 261, ii, pp. 92, 220.

square mile) unit of North Carolina for pre-emptions, and frontier land bounties, became the area awarded to frontier stations by Virginia in 1779, and the "section" of the later federal land system. The Viriginia pre-emption right of four hundred acres on the Western waters, or a thousand for those who came prior to 1778, was, in substance, the continuation of a system familiar in the Old West.

The grants to Beverley, of over a hundred thousand acres in the Valley, conditioned on seating a family for every thousand acres, and the similar grants to Borden, Carter, and Lewis, were followed by the great grant to the Ohio Company. This company, including leading Virginia planters and some frontiersmen, asked in 1749 for two hundred thousand acres on the upper Ohio, conditioned on seating a hundred families in seven years, and for an additional grant of three hundred thousand acres after this should be accomplished. It was proposed to settle Germans on these lands.

The Loyal Land Company, by order of the Virginia council (1749), was authorized to take up eight hundred thousand acres west and north of the southern boundary of Virginia, on condition of purchasing "rights" for the amount within four years. The company sold many tracts for £3 per hundred acres to settlers, but finally lost its claim. The Mississippi Company, including in its membership the Lees, Washingtons, and other great Virginia planters, applied for two and one-half million acres in the west in 1769. Similar land companies of New England origin, like the Susquehanna Company and Lyman's Mississippi Company, exhibit the same tendency of the Old West on the northern side. New England's Ohio Company of Associates, which settled Marietta, had striking resemblances to town proprietors.

These were only the most noteworthy of many companies of this period, and it is evident that they were a natural outgrowth of speculations in the Old West. Washington, securing military bounty land claims of soldiers of the French and Indian War, and selecting lands in West Virginia until he controlled over seventy thousand acres for speculation, is an excellent illustration of the tendency.[82] He also thought of colonizing German

[82] Adams, in Johns Hopkins Univ. *Studies*, iii, pp. 55 *et seq.*

Palatines upon his lands. The formation of the Transylvania and Vandalia companies were natural developments on a still vaster scale.[33]

XII. The final phase of the Old West, which I wish merely to mention, in conclusion, is its colonization of areas beyond the mountains. The essential unity of the movement is brought out by a study of how New England's Old West settled northern Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont, the Adirondacks, central and western New York, the Wyoming Valley (once organized as a part of Litchfield, Connecticut), the Ohio Company's region about Marietta, and Connecticut's Western Reserve on the shores of Lake Erie; and how the pioneers of the Great Valley and the Piedmont region of the South crossed the Alleghanies and settled on the Western Waters. Daniel Boone, going from his Pennsylvania home to the Yadkin, and from the Yadkin to Tennessee and Kentucky, took part in the whole process, and later in its continuation into Missouri.[34] The social conditions and ideals of the Old West powerfully shaped those of the trans-Alleghany West.

The important contrast between the spirit of individual colonization, resentful of control, which the Southern frontiersmen showed, and the spirit of community colonization and control to which the New England pioneers inclined, left deep traces on the later history of the West.[35] The Old West diminished the importance of the town as a colonizing unit, even in New England. In the Southern area, efforts to legislate towns into existence, as in Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia, failed. They faded away before wilderness conditions. But in general, the Northern stream of migration was communal, and the Southern individual. The difference which existed between that portion of the Old West which was formed by the northward colonization, chiefly of the New England Plateau (including New York), and that portion formed by the southward colonization of the Virginia Valley and the Southern Piedmont was reflected in the history of the Middle West and the Mississippi Valley.

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[33] Alden, *New Governments West of the Alleghanies* (Madison, 1897), gives an account of these colonies.

[34] Thwaites, *Daniel Boone* (N. Y., 1902).

[35] Turner, in *Alumni Quarterly of the University of Illinois*, II, 133–136.

Cyrus Hall McCormick and the Reaper

By Reuben Gold Thwaites

The Scotch-Irish

In all great economic movements, some man stands pre-eminent as the prophet and the pioneer. Cyrus Hall McCormick, a Scotch-Irishman, ranks in history as the leader who showed how peacefully to conquer the vast prairies of the American West, to uplift its farming class, and by cheapening the bread of the toiling millions to open to them the possibilities of a higher life.

America owes much to his sturdy race, which claims a goodly share of the men who won and developed the trans-Alleghany. Their ancestors had been taken from Scotland to subdue Catholic Ulster; but in time these people had themselves become the victims of civil and ecclesiastical oppression in Ireland, and emigration to North America seemed their only relief from domestic afflictions. Landing on our sea-coast, by scores of thousands, all the way from Pennsylvania to the Carolinas and Georgia—a few in the seventeenth, but the majority of them during the first half of the eighteenth century—they at once sought new and cheap lands; finding these upon the frontier, which was not then far from tide-water. Gradually, as the pressure on available land became greater, the younger generations of Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish moved from their restricted wheat fields southwestward through the troughs of the Alleghanies, either tarrying on the upper waters of the Potomac or pressing on to the deep and fertile valleys of southwest Virginia and North Carolina. On their part, the South Carolina and Georgia Scotch-Irish spread northward and northwestward; and in due course both streams

Cyrus Hall McCormick.

of these Ulster bordermen, now developed into expert Indian fighters, united in that forcing of the mountain passes and reaching out for fresh lands on westflowing waters, which was so conspicuous a feature of American history just previous to and during the Revolutionary War.

Robert McCormick

The McCormicks were among the earliest Scotch-Irish to settle in Pennsylvania. In time a younger branch followed the well-trodden path to the Valley of Virginia, in the heart of which—on Walnut Grove Farm, in Rockbridge County—Robert McCormick was born on June 4, 1780, the son of a successful farmer. Robert devoted a large share of his attention to the mechanical side of farm life, and early became an adept in the working of wood and iron. When he himself came into possession of the paternal acres, and acquired a family, he purchased for his sons three adjoining farms, the entire estate aggregating 1,800 acres. On three of these four farms he successfully operated sawmills, and on two of them flour-mills—his sturdy character, unusual enterprise, and business acumen winning for him deserved prominence throughout the valley as a substantial man of affairs.

Robert McCormick was more than this. Although, like his fellows, slightly schooled, he had developed a fondness for astronomy and other sciences, was given to historical reading, and proved to be an inventor of no mean capacity. In his farm workshops he fashioned an ingenious hemp-brake and cleaner, to be operated by horse-power, and it was successfully used by several of the valley folk, as well as by many in the great hemp-growing state of Kentucky. A clover sheller, a blacksmith's bellows, a hydraulic machine, a threshing machine, and a hillside plow were also among his contributions to rural mechanics.

As early as 1809 he began to devote much time in efforts to devise a reaping machine, and appears to have spasmodically worked upon his plan through upwards of a score of years—1816 being generally ascribed as the year in which the attention of his neighbors first became attracted to the enterprise. Various cutting mechanisms were tried by Robert McCormick. One of these is reported as having been "a system of rotary saws

about 8 or 10 inches in diameter, which revolved, shear fashion, past the edge of a stationary knife; the saws were driven by bands from a cylinder which was turned by the revolution of the main wheel;" another "consisted of stationary curved sickles, against which the grain was forced and cut by vertical reels, with pins in their peripheries." But none of these schemes was found to be practical, and after a final discouraging test in the early harvest of 1831 he concluded to abandon the project as an unsuccessful experiment.

A Young Inventor

Cyrus Hall McCormick, Robert's eldest son in a family of eight children, was born at Walnut Grove February 15, 1809, the very year to which is commonly assigned the latter's first attempt at a mechanical reaper. The boy was carefully reared to be a practical farmer; but it was evident that in his case, as in his father's, the carpenter and blacksmith shops were more attractive to him than the open fields. He had clearly inherited his parent's inventive qualities, and was destined far to surpass him—indeed, to become one of the greatest figures in the industrial history of the world.

When but fifteen years of age this ingenious Scotch-Irish lad made a distinct improvement in the grain cradle. In the same year he, like his father, invented a hillside plow; a few seasons later supplanting it with a self-sharpening, horizontal plow, claimed to be the first of this character to be introduced.

The First Successful Reaper

But Cyrus McCormick's greatest contribution to agricultural economics was yet to come. The father's reaping machine, standing outside the blacksmith shop, on the home farm, had from the year of his birth been to him a familiar and alluring spectacle. His imagination was early fired with a desire to conquer the great practical difficulties of mechanical reaping. When the father finally acknowledged himself defeated, Cyrus took up the problem on his own account. Later in that same summer of 1831, when but twenty-two years of age, young McCormick constructed a machine essentially unlike any mechanism pro-

posed by his father or any others who had before undertaken the task. He immediately demonstrated by practical tests, that the successful type had thus been created; and he never departed from that type, in conformity wherewith all success in this art has since proceeded.

Significance of the Event

The immense significance of this event may be realized when we remember that since man began to practise the arts of agriculture, the grain harvest has been one of his chiefest concerns. There is nearly always abundant time in which to plant and to cultivate; but from its having to be cut when in a certain stage of ripeness, at the risk of losing the crop, the harvesting of grain is confined to a few days—generally not to exceed ten. The amount of grain, therefore, which a husbandman may successfully raise, obviously is dependent on the quantity which he may garner with the means available during this brief season. Throughout the long centuries in which the primitive sickle was the only harvesting implement, it was possible for a man to cut half an acre per day; thus production was limited to about five acres for each harvester—enough for the immediate needs of the people of the district, but insufficient for considerable export to distant non-agricultural communities.

Sickle and Cradle-Scythe

The long-handled scythe, which came in with the later centuries, was more expeditious than the sickle, which latter necessitated the retention of the grain in armfuls before laying it on the ground for the binder. But while the scythe was admirably adapted to mowing grass, in grain it had the disadvantage of leaving the stalks in a tangled mass—whereas, for further handling, they should be kept parallel. The sickle, therefore, remained as the chief instrument of the harvester until the invention of the cradle—a scythe equipped with fingers designed to retain the several stalks parallel until, by the sweep of the instrument, they were delivered in an even swath. The cradle-scythe, which was probably a gradual evolution, appears to have been in common use in the United States before the opening of the nine-

teenth century, and is still employed in those parts of Europe and America where the reaping machine is not practicable. Indeed, in primitive lands, or on rough fields where even the cradle is not possible, the sickle still holds its own.

Early Mechanical Devices

The rigid limitation imposed by the use of the sickle, upon the supply of the most important food for man, had attracted the attention even of the ancients, and there appear to have been at least a few inventive minds among them, bent on overcoming it. The elder Pliny describes a device used by the Gauls during the first century of the Christian era—a cart pushed by an ox through the grain fields, bearing a frontal comb by means of which, it was said, the heads of grain were torn off and fell into the cart behind. But the waste by so clumsy a "heading" machine must have been considerable, and it contained not one essential element of the mechanical reaper of today. This Gallic contrivance must have long been retained, for we find a casual mention of it as late as 1577, with the assertion that it was "Woont to be used in France." But there is no evidence that it was ever really used to any great extent; during the long stretch of centuries leading up to the introduction of the cradle-scythe, the harvester was still chiefly dependent on the primitive sickle.

Nothing further is heard of machines for reaping, until about the middle of the eighteenth century—the first modern invention of this character being by one Derffer, a German, in 1755. Thenceforth, several ingenious men on both sides of the Atlantic were engaged upon the perplexing problem; so that previous to 1831 we have more or less veracious records of perhaps twenty-five German, French, American, and English designs, worthy of mention, to say nothing of a few unimportant attempts. Few of these various schemes were, however, more than mere suggestions. Some have come down to us merely in vague drawings and descriptions, that often betray in their authors a curious deficiency in mechanical knowledge; several were patented; and for a few there are evidences that field trials were actually undertaken. Those most discussed have been the plans ascribed to Henry Ogle, a schoolmaster in the English town of Remington,

in 1825, and that invented the following year by the Rev. Patrick Bell, of Carmyllie, in the maritime county of Forfarshire, Scotland. Practically all of them depended for their cutting mechanism on blades revolving in horizontal planes, on shears rocking upon pivots, or on other impracticable means. Insurmountable difficulties in each of these devices compelled their permanent abandonment; each was upon a plan inherently incompatible with success, and no subsequent ingenuity has ever succeeded in obtaining from them any practical outcome.

The Correct Principle Established

The grain supply of the world was, therefore, still being gathered by hand, with no better implements than the sickle and the cradle, when, in the harvest of 1831, young Cyrus Hall McCormick entered a field of rye on Walnut Grove Farm, and demonstrated to his delighted father that he had at last established the correct principle of cutting. His experimental mechanism was of the rudest sort; but finding that the plan was satisfactory —to use his own words: "I had my machine more completely made, with the addition of a gathering reel, and with a better arranged divider, ready for trial in a neighboring field of late oats, during the same harvest, in which I then cut very successfully six or seven acres of crop."

It is recorded that Robert McCormick, in conversation with a neighbor, William T. Rush, declared: "The reaper is a success, and I believe that I could not have made it so; but it makes me feel proud to have a son to do what I could not."

The Requirements of a Reaper

It will be helpful to consider some of the conflicting requirements of a mechanical reaper, that must needs be overcome by would-be inventors before the machine could be effective in the field. It must be capable of dealing with grain under the great variety of conditions commonly encountered in practical operations; of so separating, cutting, and depositing the flexible and illusive stalks as to avoid any material shelling of the kernels, prevent entanglement, and insure their being delivered and retained in such parallelism as to be properly handled for curing,

preserving, and threshing; of cutting it substantially parallel with the surface of the ground, however irregular that surface; and of securing sufficient power without conflicting impulses or undue weight.

It would not suffice to advance a plane cutting edge against the grain, or to use revolving blades or automatic shears—these had been abundantly tried by prior inventors, and all had met with irretrievable failure. The matter of developing and applying the requisite power was also of primary importance; this could only be obtained from the rotation of wheels under traction, and the amount was limited to the draft power of the team. The machine must therefore be reduced to a minimum of weight, lest it be too cumbersome to be propelled and guided over rough surfaces. The most economical method of applying draught is on the central line of resistance; yet in this machine, where economy in draught and equalization of strains are so essential, the team cannot travel directly in front of the cutting apparatus without trampling and shelling the grain. Most of the early inventors had arranged to place the team in the rear, thus making a push machine. The drawing for McCormick's first patent illustrated alternative methods—but from his earliest practise he adopted the side draft, and this is now almost universally used. The machine must be operated by men who are not mechanics, and generally they are at a distance from machine shops; in case the reaper breaks down, it usually is impracticable to seek technical aid, since protracted delay may mean the loss of a considerable share of the season's harvest. Illustrations of the conflicting conditions which it was necessary to reconcile, might be multiplied almost indefinitely. Until a plan consistent with all these exactions was devised, there could be no practical outcome.

Four Vital Elements

The experience of the past seventy-seven years has now clearly demonstrated that there are four vital elements in a reaper, none of which can even today be dispensed with; and yet all four were successfully embodied in the machine which Cyrus H. McCormick introduced to the world in the harvest of 1831:

I. A platform, or grain deck, one end of which is flexibly affixed to the master-wheel, while the other is supported by a

small "grain" wheel, so that the platform may readily accommodate itself to the irregularities of the surface.

II. A reciprocating knife (operated directly from the master-wheel) having a serrated edge, with stationary teeth or guards projecting forward from the platform, immediately over the inner edge of the knife and bent backward beneath it—so that, as the knife reciprocates through them, the stalks will be sustained by the fixed teeth and sheared off.

III. A horizontal and adjustable reel, so situated as to rotate in the direction of the master-wheel, serving to sweep the standing grain towards the cutting apparatus, and delivering the several stalks parallel upon the platform, in a swath adapted to be raked off into bundles, ready for the binders.

IV. A divider, serving, as McCormick stated in his original description, to "divide and keep separate the grain to be cut from that to be left standing"—an operation in which the reel also takes part.

It is not conceivable that all four of these cardinal principles were in their entirety evolved from McCormick's inner consciousness. Every inventor of a machine has necessarily, consciously or unconsciously, utilized in his construction some mechanical elements that were formerly used. Some of McCormick's predecessors in this field undoubtedly employed platform, reciprocating blade, teeth, and reel. But invention consists in conceiving some new method of organizing elements so as to bring them into successful co-operation, and for the first time to achieve a useful result.

A Radical Departure

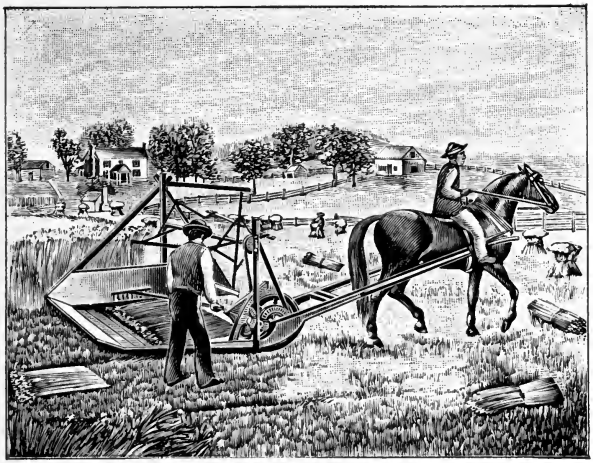
In after years McCormick stated that, living in the then isolated Valley of Virginia, he had never seen or heard of any experiments in the mechanical reaping of grain save those made by his father. Such experiments were at the time not infrequently alluded to in English agricultural magazines, but none of these publications had as yet penetrated to Walnut Grove. Without doubt there was in this isolation a certain advantage, for the young inventor was free to approach the subject from a comparatively fresh and original point of view. Probably this was the reason why, contemplating only the failures of his father, he made a radical and most essential departure from all his predecessors,

inventing a machine along entirely new lines. As is usually the case with the first form of an invention, the McCormick reaper of 1831 was crude in construction; but there is nothing on record indicating that any prior invention embodied such a scheme of construction, or indeed any scheme that succeeded or survived; and despite all subsequent invention, and it has been lavish, no one has contrived a successful substitute for McCormick's original plan. From it has proceeded in unbroken succession, and with remarkable adherence to the primary arrangement—although subsequently enriched with many refinements in details and supplemental improvements—the reaper that has taken and still holds possession of the markets of the world.

Early Tests of the Invention

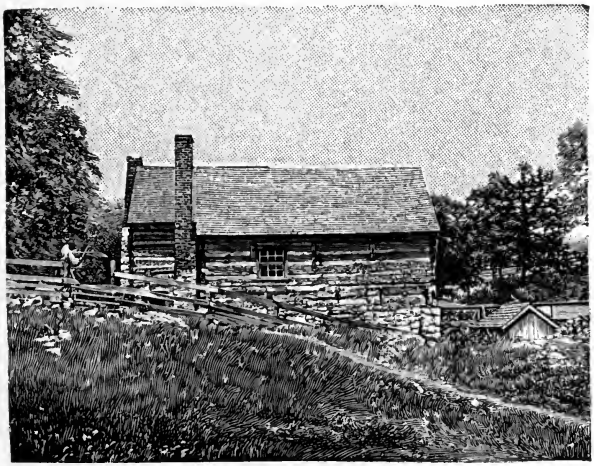
Although having mastered the essential principles of a reaper, McCormick did not, like many inventors, immediately seek a a patent. Papers are often granted to inchoate schemes that have afterwards to be worked over in their mechanical construction, and involve subsequent invention before they are practicable. McCormick subjected his machine to repeated tests during three successive harvest seasons, under a variety of conditions and with different grain, and took out his patent (June 21, 1834) only after having fully vindicated and exhibited its practical value.

In its issue for September 28, 1833, *The Union,* a small weekly newspaper published at the neighboring county town of Lexington, contained the first detailed description of the machine to appear in print; this being followed in the same issue by the certificates of Archibald Walker, James McDowell (afterwards governor of Virginia), John Weir, and William Moore, neighbors of the McCormicks, to the effect that they had witnessed the reaper in successful operation, cutting about twelve acres per day in badly-lodged wheat. Mr. Weir testified to having also seen the machine doing good work in the harvest of 1832. *The Mechanics' Magazine,* of Baltimore, in November, 1833, gave a more detailed account by its editor, who had seen "our ingenious and respectable countryman, Mr. Cyrus H. McCormick," operate the machine "during the late harvest," in the presence of "a large crowd of citizens" to whom it "gave general satisfaction."



The original McCormick reaper

As invented in 1831



Blacksmith shop, Walnut Grove

Wherein was made the first McCormick reaper

Although possessed of his patent, Mr. McCormick was even then not prepared to sell his reaper to the public. He would not, as was afterwards related by himself, "attempt sales either of Machines or rights to manufacture, until satisfied that the Reaper would succeed well * * * in the great variety of situations in which it was necessary to operate."

Manufacturing the Machine

Thus season by season, from 1834 to 1839, the inventor patiently carried on his trials, personally manufacturing his several experimental machines in the blacksmith shop at Walnut Grove. This historic building can still be seen upon the old farm, preserved by his widow and children as the birthplace of the mechanical reaper. In these earlier years, however, the development of the reaper was not his chief occupation; in addition to farm duties, he devoted much time to the conduct of an iron-smelting furnace in the vicinity, which enterprise succumbed to the financial crash (1837) following the break of the United States Bank. In 1839 he seriously resumed consideration of the manufacture and development of the reaper; and, until his death in 1884, with marvellous assiduity and skill devoted his life to an industry that, under his management, became colossal.

The problem of manufacturing and marketing the McCormick machine was at once seen to be a path beset by great practical difficulties. After settling in full the accounts of the unfortunate iron industry, our inventor was left without capital. There were, of course, no railroads as yet penetrating the Valley of Virginia, and the nearest canal was many miles distant, over rough mountain roads, always difficult and sometimes impassable. All the material must be hauled overland—even the sickles were made forty miles away; the blades, six feet in length, being transported on horseback. In this manner the work was carried on in the old blacksmith shop at Walnut Grove—the first two machines being sold in 1840; two others in 1841, seven in 1842, twenty-nine in 1843, and fifty in each of the years 1844 and 1845. Until 1843, the sales had wholly been in Virginia; but in that year he sold a county right in Michigan, and the following season sent machines to New York, Tennessee, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Missouri.

Early Field Trials

By 1844 the reaper was becoming widely known, and won general admiration because of its workmanlike success. A letter in the Washington *National Intelligencer,* dated at Lynchburg, Virginia, November 8 of that year, refers to a trial near Amherst Court House. "All were highly gratified, and many would linger and follow it around the field to admire and witness its neat, rapid, and perfect performance." The price of the machine at that time appears to have been $100 if payable in the harvest, but $106 if payment were deferred for four months; and its cutting capacity was warranted at "sixteen acres a day when properly attended." After the close of the Virginia harvest of 1844, the inventor personally conducted field trials and introduced his reaper in western New York, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Missouri. This expedition opened his eyes to the fact that "while reapers were luxuries in Virginia, they were a necessity in Ohio, Illinois, and on the great plains of the West." The broad virgin prairies of the trans-Alleghany were seen to be the natural market of a mechanism which was revolutionizing agriculture by breaking down those rigid limitations upon the production of man's chiefest food, that had fettered the world since husbandry began. Scotch-Irish Indian-fighters from the Valley of Virginia, like the Clarks, the McAfees, and the Lewises, had by their prowess some seventy years previous opened transmontane lands to settlement; and now a young Scotch-Irish valley-man was, by the fruit of his inventive genius, accentuated by an equally keen business capacity, to invade this selfsame West with a device destined vastly to increase its wealth and power, and thus profoundly influence the course of American history.

Removal to Brockport

Mr. McCormick had seen that the West was not only his especial market, but that the factory must be nearer to that market. In a letter to one of his brothers, from La Porte, Iowa, he wrote: "It seems wrong to pay $20 or $25 freight, when they might be made in the West—considering too the greater uncertainty of shipping." In order to carry this thought into execution, he made two important moves in the late months of 1844. Per-

sonally, he repaired to Brockport, New York, whence shipments might be made both eastward and westward through the Erie Canal. His younger brother, Leander J., was detailed to go to Cincinnati, and there superintend the construction of reapers by a manufacturing firm with which the inventor had made suitable arrangements. Thither was transported the product of the home plant from Walnut Grove, a laborious task for those primitive days. Finished machines were taken by wagon trains to the Virginia town of Scottsville, thence by canal to Richmond, then down James River to the sea, around Florida to New Orleans, and up the Mississippi and the Ohio to Cincinnati. At Brockport, for the harvest of 1845, Cyrus supervised in person the manufacture of two hundred machines, an output duplicated in 1846 and considerably increased in 1847. The Cincinnati branch does not appear to have turned out any product until the last-named year; and during the same season other machines were being constructed for the firm at Chicago, upon a royalty basis.

Established at Chicago

In the spring of 1847, Mr. McCormick himself moved to Chicago, which thus early he foresaw was to be the metropolis of the West, and thenceforth devoted himself entirely to the conduct of his business at that point. In 1851, he estimated that in eleven years he had sold a thousand machines. By 1860, the McCormick Reaper Works in Chicago were producing four thousand in a single year. The Chicago fire of 1871 destroyed not only all the buildings of the then thriving establishment, but the company's valuable patterns and the entire output of finished machines for the next year's harvest. With indomitable energy, however, the great inventor and equally great master of industry rebuilt on a far larger scale than before, his works having in 1875 a yearly output of twelve thousand reapers. The capacity of the McCormick Harvesting Machine Company, which was the largest concern of its kind in the world, prior to its absorption into the International Harvester Company (1902), was in 1901 fourteen hundred agricultural machines of various kinds for every working day of ten hours—sometimes the works are "rushed" on a twenty-four hour basis. At the busiest seasons seven thousand persons are employed at these works in the manu-

facture of harvesters, mowers, rakers, tedders, and other implements of the sort.

It is not to be supposed that Mr. McCormick's business as a manufacturer grew to the present extent simply by its own impetus. For a long period of years his path was far from rose-strewn. He early met with discouragements and disheartenings before which a less resolute man would soon have quailed. In common with other labor-saving inventions of that period, his machines sometimes encountered mob violence, especially in New York and Ohio, and business rivalry was not always scrupulous as to methods. But his Scotch-Irish fighting blood was aroused by the opposition that he encountered in many forms, and with remarkably tenacious vigor he triumphed over it throughout nearly a half century of business activity.

Opposition to Extension of Patent

Under the law in vogue when the patent of 1834 was procured, an inventor was allowed a monopoly of his device for fourteen years; which term might be extended for another seven at the option of an extension board, consisting of the Commissioner of Patents, the Secretary of State, and the Solicitor of the Treasury. Having entered the market only in 1840, Mr. McCormick had but enjoyed a business of eight years' duration when in 1848 he applied for an extension. Up to that time, he had sold 778 machines, chiefly on a royalty basis, at a profit of $20 each, aggregating $15,560. In addition to this, territorial rights had been disposed of for $7,083 —thus making his entire receipts from the invention but $22,643; from which, as shown by his sworn statement, were to be "deducted several thousand dollars" for travelling expenses and the employment of agents, not taking into account the value of his time.

The law provided that in considering extensions of patents, the board should "have due regard to the public interest therein:" thus leaving it open, that if an invention had come into extensive use and greatly interested the public, or if other manufacturers wished to escape paying royalty, opposition might be brought to bear through political and personal pressure. This is exactly what happened. One rival

inventor at first bitterly contested even the matter of priority; but this was soon settled by the taking of abundant and unimpeachable testimony in Rockbridge and Augusta counties, Virginia, by which it was clearly proven that the McCormick reaper was used in the presence of reliable witnesses in the harvest of 1831, two years prior to the pretensions of any other successful inventor. Business rivals astutely developed opposition to extension on the part of the farmers. One hundred citizens of New York state sent a remonstrance asserting that McCormick had already made a great deal of money from his patent—it was the day when $50,000 was thought to constitute a fortune; that if extended, this profit "would be $30,000,000, and perhaps much more, as no limit can be set to the demand in the West;" and further naively declaring that, if the patent were thrown open, "the farming population would be largely benefited."

A majority of the members of the board—James Buchanan, Secretary of State, and R. H. Gillet, Solicitor of the Treasury—were keen politicians and not unnaturally sensitive to the widespread demand from the farmers for unrestricted use of this much-needed invention. Their verdict was against extension, but without giving reason. The Commissioner of Patents, Edmund Burke, strongly favored granting the extension solely on the great merit of the invention.

Mr. McCormick thereupon appealed to Congress to grant a special act renewing the patent, and in that body the case became *un cause celèbre,* occupying the attention of the members for four years. Commissioner Burke wrote in strong terms to the senate committee on patents, March 4, 1850: "I do not hesitate to say that it [the McCormick invention] is one of very great merit. In agriculture, it is in my view as important, as a labor-saving device, as the spinning-jenny and power loom in manufacture. It is one of those great and valuable inventions which commence a new era in the progress of improvement, and whose beneficial influence is felt in all coming time; and, I do not hesitate to say, that the man whose genius produces a machine of so much value, should make a large fortune out of it. It is not possible for him to obtain during the whole existence of the term of his patent, a tenth part of the value of the labor saved to the community

by it in a single year. Therefore I was in favor of its extension."

Again and again the McCormick bill was reported favorably by committees, but an immense array of political, social, and commercial influence was brought to bear against it by a combination of patent attorneys, rival manufacturers, and agricultural interests; and in the end it was defeated. The last and probably the most successful appeal was made on behalf of the vested rights of those who had used and were using the patent since it had expired in 1848. Throughout this protracted and famous controversy, it is plainly to be seen in the debates that Congress had no thought or intention of detracting from or deciding against Mr. McCormick's position as an inventor; the priority of his claim appears to have generally been recognized, and encomiums upon the far-reaching effect of the invention are quite as freely found in the speeches in opposition to his request as in those favoring it.

Facing Competition

The basic principles of McCormick's first patent had thus, in 1848, been thrown open to the public, and were at once adopted by all other manufacturers. A host of commercial competitors sprang up, crowding the market with machines in which his ideas had been incorporated. Valuable improvements, which he had patented in 1845 and 1847, still gave his machine an advantage over their competitors. His was, however, not a nature to rest content with this mere relative superiority, which in the presence of other keen minds at work along the same lines might be but transitory. He was determined always to remain far in the advance, but in the accomplishment of this ambition found no easy task. Every change in the condition of the grain or the surface of the ground brought new problems to be solved; different remedies must be sought and tested, that should be in harmony with existing conditions. Experiments in the field were unceasing, so that his machine was the subject of constant invention.

In his voluminous correspondence, preserved by the family, are almost innumerable evidences of this unceasing activity throughout several decades. He attended field trials, sold

county rights, and made royalty contracts in all parts of the West and South. His letters abound in suggestions to his brothers, who were ultimately taken into partnership. Each new trial seems to have given him food for thought, and these observations he at once communicated, often minutely, to other members of the family, who co-operated with him in seeing to it that the obstacles met in one harvest should be overcome in the next. These interesting human documents tell also of the successes that fired his heart; as when, writing in October, 1846, he exultantly states: "A man has just written from Wisconsin, that he can cut 235 acres with a reaper, and all O. K."

United with the determination and perseverance of an indefatigable inventor, were his masterly methods of business organization—an unusual combination, for inventors are seldom commercially successful. More and more widely extended became the operations of the McCormick Works, and the fame of its master soon spread around the world.

European Triumphs

His notable display at the World's Fair of 1851, in London, was Mr. McCormick's introduction to Europe. The reaper astonished the Old World, and alone saved the credit of the otherwise inferior American exhibit. At first the London *Times* was amused at this "cross between an Astley chariot, a wheel-barrow, and a flying machine;" but after a trial in the field, declared with enthusiasm that it was "worth the whole cost of the Exhibition." The council of juries reported: "The McCormick reaper is the most valuable article contributed to this exhibition, and for its originality and value and its work in the field it is awarded the council medal." Philip Pusey, M. P., one of the trial committee, an acknowledged expert, pronounced the McCormick reaper "the most important addition to farming machinery that has been invented since the threshing machine took the place of the flail."

This unprejudiced judgment by those who knew best, was accompanied by some attempts in the British press unduly to magnify certain prior English and Scotch inventions,

particularly those of Bell and Ogle; but the claimants for these impractical machines failed to distinguish between them and an invention that had conquered the difficulties. The official board of the "Great Exhibition" rose superior to this insular prejudice, and handsomely recognized and honored the victorious American—a course historically justified by the fact that no reaper of British origin has survived.

Commenting upon this event, William H. Seward said: "The reaper of 1834, as improved in '45, achieved for its inventor a triumph which all then felt and acknowledged was not more a personal one than it was a National one. It was justly so regarded. No General or Consul drawn in a chariot through the streets of Rome by order of the Senate, ever conferred upon mankind benefits so great as he who thus vindicated the genius of our country at the World's Exposition of Art in the Metropolis of the British Empire."

This was the first of a series of European triumphs achieved by Mr. McCormick. In later years he was named by Emperor Louis Napoleon a chevalier of the Legion of Honor; the Emperor of Austria conferred on him a similar honor in 1873; he was elected a corresponding member of the French Academy of Sciences, "as having done more for the cause of agriculture than any other living man." At the Paris Exposition in 1855, the McCormick reaper received the gold medal of honor as "the type and pattern of all other reaping machines to the present day." Indeed, from all quarters of Christendom there came to him public recognition in the form of personal honors or professional awards; for in due time his machines were introduced into every civilized land, both at exhibitions and in the field, and in many cases directly under the supervision of the inventor himself.

Continued Opposition

We have spoken of the improvements patented by Mr. McCormick in 1845 and 1847. In 1860, the inventor applied for an extension of these patents. Again, however, he was met by well-organized opposition. Rival reaper manufacturers, operating through the agency of a firm of patent lawyers, industriously worked up antagonistic sentiment among the farmers, and thus brought a powerful influence to bear upon

senators and representatives. Letters and petitions from farmers and manufacturers poured into Washington from all parts of the country; and the state legislatures of New York, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Illinois adopted resolutions remonstrating against manufacturers and farmers being longer "compelled to pay tribute to Cyrus H. McCormick." Commissioner of Patents D. P. Holloway yielded to this great pressure, and refused the desired extension on grounds of public policy; but he nevertheless declared: "Cyrus McCormick is an inventor, whose fame, while he is yet living, has spread throughout the world. His genius has done honor to his own country, and has been the admiration of foreign nations, and he will live in the grateful recollection of mankind as long as the reaping machine is employed in gathering the harvest."

Perfecting the Harvester

This second rebuff did not in the least discourage Mr. McCormick. We find him still industriously attending field trials, improving his machine in a hundred ways, keeping it in the van of competition, and pushing the organization of his work. Throughout his life, he found no time to be idle. Automatic raking and binding had yet to be invented before the harvesting machine could be considered perfect. At the outset of the reaper, the grain was raked off the platform by a man walking beside it. Then came the raker's seat, in 1847. By 1860, there was added the labor-saving self-rake, first experimented with by McClintock Young in 1858. In 1881, what is known as the McCormick twine binder was introduced—based on the Gorham patent, but greatly improved and made workable by McCormick and his talented staff of mechanics. During the past ten years, the bound gavels are ejected into a "bundle carrier," in which they are transported until a sufficient number are collected to form a shock, where it is retained until dried or ready to be hauled to a place of storage. No intervention or impulse is required on the part of the driver, save the guiding of the horses; even the binder requires no substantial attention, and is dependent on the reaper for its power and its supply. In this manner has the simple reaper of 1831 developed into a perfect harvester.

Stimulus to Agricultural Invention

We have seen that the area of the production of grain, which is man's chief food, depends in large measure upon the means available to garner the crop during the brief harvest period of ten days; and that so long as the sickle remained the principal instrument of the harvester, production was limited to about five acres for each human reaper. This area was materially increased by the introduction of the cradle. But Cyrus H. McCormick's invention of the mechanical reaper at once vastly extended the capabilities of the harvester—fifteen acres being then his daily capacity, with the aid of a team of horses; and with the minimum of labor, for driving a reaper is but play compared with the back-breaking toil of the sickle-wielder.

When once the chief limitation upon grain acreage was thus removed, there became noticeable a remarkable increase in agricultural patents of every character. The Commissioner of Patents reported in 1835: "Of late, inventors have directed their attention with peculiar interest to the improvement of implements of agriculture, and many labor saving machines have been patented which are of the highest utility to the husbandman. These are rapidly increasing and it is scarcely possible to conjecture to what extent the labor of the agriculturist may be diminished and the production of the country increased by these improvements. Already the processes of sowing, of mowing, and of reaping are successfully performed by horse power."

Extending the Area of Cultivation

In rugged New England, the land of small farms, husbandry is at best carried on by toilsome methods; modern inventions can do comparatively little to broaden the field of agricultural possibilities. In the Middle Atlantic States, with their wide stretches of level land, a quicker soil, and a more genial climate, grain growing is a fairly profitable industry. Yet even here, the problem of carrying on extended agricultural operations has been far less pressing than in the vast region of the trans-Alleghany. In the days when settlements

were first being planted in the Middle West, the scarcity of farm labor and the difficulties of transportation greatly retarded growth. The opening of the Erie Canal, in 1825, and subsequent improvements in other canals, highways, and railroads, solved the transportation problem; but that of agricultural labor was still of prime importance.

The half billion fertile acres in the upper Mississippi valley, practically a fourth of the total land surface of the United States, are especially adapted to cereal culture. But although opened to cultivation largely during the first third of the nineteenth century—and freely offered to settlers by the federal government under a liberal land policy—the vast area of the Old Northwest could not at first be utilized to its fullest capacity so long as farm implements were crude and the supply of labor was limited. Fortunately, this remarkable extension of the area of cultivation was not long hampered by the slow development incident to primitive methods of agriculture; the reaper came in the nick of time.

The *Report* of the Commissioner of Patents for 1835 had somewhat overstated the case, as to the condition of rural mechanics in that year: patents had been taken out, but few of the inventions so glowingly referred to were as yet upon the market. Everything depended upon the reaper—for until the grain crop, restricted to a ten days' harvest, could be quickly and mechanically gathered, there was little need of improved methods of sowing and cultivating, for which processes there is nearly always ample season. The evolution of the successful reaper was not as rapid as had been anticipated; during six successive harvests it was being deliberately wrought out in practice, upon an isolated Virginia farm, so that 1840 may be considered the year of its practical introduction to a wide area. So soon, however, as this the greatest of all agricultural problems was solved to the satisfaction of the inventor, there was no further hesitation. Not only the reaper, but every manner of farm implement, naturally following in its wake, exhibited a phenomenal improvement. McCormick had shown the way; and under the stimulus of his success others rushed forward to complete the work with a great variety of machines, chiefly for the cultivation of crops and the threshing of grain.

The effect upon American agriculture was immediate and profound. The Patent *Report* for 1844 indicated a widespread interest in the new implements, which were cordially welcomed, especially in the West, where their need had been most keenly felt—for the tide of New England and Middle West pioneers was now ready to invade the prairies, and their conquest was rendered possible only by labor-saving devices. In order profitably to use this ingenious machinery, many large farmers were leaving their timber lands and moving into the timberless levels, where roots, stumps, rocks, and steep hillsides did not interfere with mechanical mowers, reapers, and rakers. By 1846 the period of hand labor was plainly seen to be passing. Horse power was now fast becoming the dominant factor upon the farm.

Popularizing Machinery

The national and the state agricultural societies, state boards of agriculture, and farmers' institutes did their utmost to stimulate interest in rural machinery and to encourage its invention. Great trials of all manner of implements were held, especially during the ten years previous to the outbreak of the War of Secession—such trials as we have seen Cyrus H. McCormick attending, keenly watching the paths along which lay the success of his reaper. The greatest popular concern was, very naturally, in machinery for cultivating and harvesting grain: we read that during the nine years ending with 1860 no less than 2,233 patents were granted for inventions relating to cereal culture. Despite the expense of these modern devices—in 1852, the price of a McCormick reaper in Illinois and Wisconsin was $130—farmers purchased freely; and from 1855 forward, the several varieties of reaping machine then in vogue were bought as rapidly as they could be turned out of the factories. Obviously, it was profitable to use them. In 1859, Reverdy Johnson declared that the McCormick reaper "had already contributed an annual income to the whole country of $55,000,000 at least."

The Reaper's Services to the Union

It would lead us far beyond the necessary limits of this sketch, fully to emphasize the immense economic influence which the reaping machine exercised upon the conduct of the War of Secession by the Northern States. In June, 1861, Edwin M. Stanton delivered an address eulogizing Cyrus H. McCormick. He held that the great inventor's services to mankind and civilization were much beyond those of discoverers and conquerors, for his were the beneficent and everlasting victories of peace, and the world owed to their author an adequate reward. "The reaper is to the North," he said, "what slavery is to the South. By taking the places of regiments of young men in the Western harvest fields, it releases them to do battle for the Union at the front, and at the same time keeps up the supply of bread for the nation and the nation's armies. Thus without McCormick's invention I fear the North could not win, and the Union would be dismembered."

The *Report* of the Commissioner of Agriculture for 1862 asserts that owing to the absence of so many farm laborers at the front, it would have been quite impossible to harvest the wheat crop for that year, had it not been for the increased use of mechanical reapers, each of which effected a saving of the labor of five men.

Notwithstanding the enormous draught of recruits from our rural districts, to fight in the armies of the Union, agricultural operations could still not only be carried on by the North, and in numberless instances by mere youths, but the product itself was meanwhile substantially increased. Indeed, although the great struggle appreciably lessened invention in every other line of endeavor, the number of patents for improvements to grain harvesters was normally maintained.

An Era of Labor-Saving Invention

After the close of the war, there was once more a vast increase in the improvements to farming implements and machinery. We have already alluded to the continued development of the reaper, and the evolution of the modern harvester

through the addition of the self-raker and the binder. In the United States Census *Report* for 1880, Professor William H. Brewer estimated that at that time five men could with horses and agricultural machinery accomplish the same results in the harvesting of grain as those obtainable by fifteen men in the decade preceding 1840; and probably their labor was nine or ten times as effective as it would have been during the decade ending in 1830. In the work, also, of preparing the ground, planting the crop, and cultivating it, a given amount of labor in 1880 was twice as effective as in the decade between 1820 and 1830.

In his summary of the "Statistics of Agriculture," in the Tenth Census *Report,* Dr. Francis A. Walker said: "To ask what has been done mechanically to promote our agriculture, is to challenge a recital of the better half of the history of American invention. Remarkable as have been the mechanical achievements of our people in the department of manufacturing industry, they have been exceeded in the production of agricultural implements and machinery."

Not only did the reaper prepare the way for other agricultural inventions, often wrought out by bright farmer boys who had everywhere been set to thinking how to improve the methods of their work; but mechanics were by this example stimulated to the discovery of better ways of doing all manner of things that had heretofore been done in a crude way. It was made plainer than ever before, that Americans are a remarkably inventive people; and the reaper was soon followed into the most distant markets of the world by a host of American contrivances calculated to lessen the burdens of men, and greatly to increase the productiveness and consequently the dignity of their labor.

Advancing the American Frontier

Upon the declaration of peace between the warring states, vast numbers of discharged Union soldiers went into the West, to take up homes under the military homestead law. Abundant land awaited settlement as late as 1880. The young man of the Central States found the prospect of acquiring a farm for himself more inviting than the return to the life of an agricul-

tural renter or laborer. By the extensive use of agricultural machinery the centre of cereal production has been kept well in advance of the centre of our population. William H. Seward once claimed that the McCormick reaper had extended the American frontier at the rate of thirty miles each year—a sentiment practically identical with that uttered by Stanton, who in his previously-quoted address in 1861 showed upon a map how "McCormick's invention in Virginia, thirty years before, had carried permanent civilization westward more than fifty miles a year." As each new region in the Middle West—or, in time, the trans-Mississippi—was opened to settlement, aggressive men promptly invaded the new area, engaging in cereal culture upon a cumulative scale which within the past three decades has become vast. Thus, while the trend in this country has been largely toward the development of the cities at the expense of the rural districts, the yield of our crops has kept pace with the urban growth.

The Effect Upon the West

Socially, economically, and politically, the effect has been far-reaching and revolutionary. The vast levels of the Northwest have become the chief seat of our agricultural production, and the centre of political power in the United States. The new instruments of labor have everywhere reduced to a minimum the old-time drudgery of the farm; the storm and stress period of pioneer life has become a matter of history. By bringing to them this opportunity for larger prosperity and leisure, agricultural machinery doubtless saved the farmers of the West from sinking into a peasant class. With prosperity and leisure, came a taste for culture and the consequent development of academies, colleges, and universities. The farmer on his broad Western acres is in considerable measure independent of the exorbitant wages formerly demanded by men who worked only during the harvest season; he is industrious, intelligent, effective, has a wide outlook on life, and takes a high stand among his fellows. The humblest urban wage-earner had in turn had his benefit: the supply of food has been maintained, scarcity has been prevented, and prices are lessened; white wheat, now raised and harvested far more economically than before, can be obtained as cheaply as once were the coarser grains, and is now common to

all. The introduction of improved agricultural machinery has made possible, also, the great flouring industries of the Old Northwest; and has promoted the prosperity of great railway systems that gridiron the prairies and plains, and of monster fleets of vessels that plough the Great Lakes, all engaged in transporting to market the products of the farm.

Nor are these advantages confined to America. Wherever, throughout the world, have gone the reaper and its lusty following of labor-saving inventions, life is easier than it was before, and rustic man is no longer slavishly bound to the grinding burden of the sickle and the hoe. His labor has been made vastly more productive, and this means better things in every walk of life.

Personality of McCormick

It is worth while inquiring what manner of man this was, who emancipated the farm laborer from his galling task, saved the Western farmer from degenerating into a drudge, and made possible a wonderful progress in agriculture throughout the world; of what stuff this Virginian was made, whose invention, taking the place of farm-hands drafted from the fields of the North, powerfully promoted the abolition of slavery in the South—thus counteracting the effects of the epoch-making cotton-gin of Eli Whitney, of Massachusetts, which had greatly extended the area of human bondage.

The most cursory view of his career shows him to have been gifted with force, a high degree of organizing capacity, and power of marvelous perseverance. It is seldom that a man is both the author and finisher of such a task as he set himself. The crude reaping machine that had been devised by his father did but set him thinking; it foreshadowed certain valuable principles, to which he first gave embodiment. With an insight given to but few men, he avoided the mistakes that had neutralized the work of his predecessors, and evolved the working mechanism which has held unto the present day.

With patient, infinite toil, he perfected this mechanism year by year. Opposition met him in every form—in the courts of law, in Congress, in the business world, and in mechanical difficulties encountered upon the harvest field. But he recognized no enduring obstacles. He was not easily discouraged, although

defeats hurt him; he was content with nothing less than conquering—and he did not always conquer. He stands today as a typical hero of the vast economic movements by which America has profoundly influenced mankind at large—the representative of agricultural invention for increasing and cheapening the food crop of the world.

With all his bull-dogged tenacity, which he had inherited from a long line of Scotch-Irish fighting stock, this great inventor and powerful master of industry, this type of a great historic movement, presented to his many friends a tender and magnetic side. He disliked ostentatious display, he was simple in his personal tastes, he dearly loved his wife and family, he was deeply religious, his philanthropy was ever active, and few will know the extent and variety of his charities. Upon the thirteenth of May, 1884, he passed from this life at his home in Chicago, sincerely mourned by those who had learned to love as well as to honor one of the world's greatest benefactors.

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